

# SLOVAKIA



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# *The Slovak Word Abroad*

*Gorazd Zvonický*

A man on a motorcycle cried out as he whizzed by a motorist driving a Mercedes Benz rather leisurely: "Do you know something about Lambretta?" The elderly man at the wheel of the car stepped on the gas to show the cyclist that he, too, had power, power and speed to pass up the Lambretta! Later he slowed down, and soon the motorcycle came into view and before long was passing him again.

The young man on the motorcycle waved his hand and cried out as he passed the car a second time; "Say, do you know anything about a Lambretta." The man in the car this time did not resume the chase, thinking it was no use to race with a speed demon. Soon afterwards he came upon the Lambretta and its occupant piled up by the side of the road. As the young man disengaged himself from his motorcycle, the man in the car stopped and yelled out: "See there, you young smart aleck, where did it get you to show off, anyway?" Whereupon the slightly shaken up young motorcyclist retorted: "Who was showing off? I was merely asking you if you know anything about a Lambretta to tell me how to stop it." The same can happen to an inexperienced speaker; he may know how to start but not how to stop. In our case a sheet of paper is the best brake in the world. One must first stop to reflect and then write it down.

To perceive the kernel of a theme, we must first of all touch upon a few peripheral points on the subject at hand.

A person seldom stops to consider what a word means. We are so accustomed to speak and converse that we do not even think about a situation that might arise when we cannot even utter a single word. A mute can best evaluate the value of the gift the spoken word. I speak of a gift because the spoken word is, in a sense, part of a dowry bequeathed to us by the Creator. Think for a moment what a joyful event it is in a family circle when



a child comes out with its first word, which is somehow an integral part of every being as he says for the first time, 'Papa,' or 'Mama.' These first intelligible sounds are not only a pleasant surprise for the child's parents who gave him life, but a vital expression of his very being. The first words are important enough to be registered in a family album and an occasion for a family treat or celebration.

Everyday life employs the spoken word as a usual, easy and effective means of communication. The spoken word introduces us to the outside world, and works either for good or evil, according to one's inner motives and purposes. The word is a manifestation of our being and thoughts. If human thoughts are good and proper, so will be their outward expression, according to the saying: "What is in the heart is on the tip of our tongue." And Holy Scripture notes: "Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh."

Imagine what our life would be like if we were limited to sign language. How far could we advance in civilization and culture? What would be our future destiny as thinking beings? On the other hand, how unbearable life would become if words were misused for lying, chicanery, deceit and instigation, or for indulging the passions and evil desires instead of being put to good use in promoting peace, justice and harmony in society.

The meaning of the spoken word, like the written word, has a profound effect and has infinite range. We are aware of the fact that the Slovak spoken word reaches us and our fellow countrymen via radio broadcasts, e. g. from the Vatican, Radio Free Europe and other radio stations.

I want to emphasize the Vatican Broadcast in that it unquestionably exercises widespread influence in the spiritual life of our Slovak countrymen in their native homeland. Until recently, dozens of letters came from listeners who expressed thanks for every word, declaring that the talks they heard were highly informative, enlightening and a powerful shield to defend themselves against the incessant tempest of anti-religious propaganda in the schools, from the press and radio, on television, in meetings of workingmen's associations, in army barracks, and realms of mis-



information in textbooks, etc. This is a vital factor in preserving truth and a sense of justice in a country where all the forces militate against what is just, what is right and truthful. For obvious reasons we cannot publicize these letters, but they indicate beyond a shadow of a doubt that they get the message despite many obstacles that are set up to prevent them from hearing the truth.

Permit us to quote briefly from one of these letters that speaks for many:

"You have no idea how eagerly we wait for your broadcast. We pass on the information to others who cannot listen. The spiritual message about the Christian way of life for the faithful who constitute the healthy kernel of our Slovak nation is like a falling rain on a desert in our land in which the official press is forever agitating and scandalous. During the recent lull in the anti-religious movement not even such prominent persons as Archbishop Nécsey or Bishop Trochta were given the opportunity to express what was in their minds and hearts, as if they did not have anything worthwhile to say to their unseen television audience of millions of fellow countrymen."

The written non-Slovak word that has as its subject the Slovak and his life in his native land, or abroad, whether in the original or as a translation, has exceedingly great value. For example, in English we find a series of publications that deal with Slovak themes: history, folklore, folk songs, science, sociology, and almost every phase of Slovak culture and art.

Dr. Inovecky's books in Italian truthfully inform the Italian public about the situation of the Catholic Intelligentsia, youth, priests and nuns in Slovakia where they are subjected to atheistic attacks. Although defenseless, they must face a formidable and heavily armed foe who daily attacks them with a barrage of diabolical propaganda.

Dr. Ďurica, professor of political science at the University of Padua, in his works presents a true picture of our times in the light of historical analysis and perception with precision and conclusive proof, while contemporary Slovak historians in Slovakia under pressing orders from the Party (Communist) must twist, falsify, blacken and distort everything, particularly the events of the second world war and its aftermath.

A number of valuable works have been published, too, in German, Spanish, and French. For detailed information Professor Michael Lacko, S. J. edited a Slovak bibliography for the years from 1945 to 1965. This came off the press as the 7th volume of Slovak Studies under the auspices of the Slovak Institute (Cleveland-Rome).

Works by the old and new generations of Slovak writers in exile have been simply overwhelming. As we all know, perhaps, the old emigrants from Slovakia left their native land mainly for economic reasons. They emigrated to find employment and to assure their future existence. Most of them came from villages where literary tastes usually had as yet not developed beyond the stage of the almanac and the prayerbook. This was much the same in their new environment where the prayerbook and almanac were read but with one notable exception: now they had their own Slovak newspapers.

The new wave of emigrants, to which we belong (after World War II) was quite different; it was more idealistic and ideological, and without false pride, it may be said, too, that it was more educated. And therefore, this new generation of emigrants from Slovakia had more esthetic and literary tastes, which soon necessitated the publication of books and the establishment of publishing centers to keep alive the fires of Slovak literary and spiritual life abroad.

Alphabetically, we may list Buenos Aires, Chicago, Cleveland, Danville, Middletown, Pittsburgh and Scranton in Pennsylvania, Munich, New York, Passaic in New Jersey, Toronto in Canada, Valparaiso and the Slovak Franciscans; Whiting, Indiana, the home of the immortal Father Lach, a great patron of Slovak literature, and Winnipeg, Man., in Canada, where Čulen published several noteworthy works.

Rome, however, must be recognized for its primacy in the field of Slovak publications abroad, both because here is concentrated the largest single group of Slovak emigrant writers under the sponsorship of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Slovak Institute. To date, the number of editions here has totaled 142, in all more than 30,000 pages of the Slovak word in print. This amazing output of the Slovak press, considering the brief span of the existence of the Institute in Rome, as well as, bearing in mind what

obstacles it had to face and overcome, and new difficulties that keep on coming in its way, it is truly a priceless contribution to the spiritual treasury of the Slovak nation. Add to this fact, the *Hlasý z Ríma* monthly over a period of almost twenty years (5,000 pages of printed matter), and you have a tremendous accomplishment which, to borrow a Biblical phrase in our case, these have worked long and perseveringly like the Israelites of old who in rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem worked with a tool in one hand and a weapon in the other to defend themselves against the enemy in the event of a sudden attack.

Let us look at the contents and supplementary material of the Slovak word (written) abroad. Its primary and foremost inspiration is Slovakia and its people: the country, the nation, the history of the country and its people, state institutions, political movements and currents and economic conditions, then, too, the religious aspect and the situation of the people of faith, the activity of the Church and its spokesmen and leaders, Slovak philology, literary history and criticism, architecture, archeology, medicine, the arts, music, books, about Slovaks living abroad, philosophical handbooks, catechetical works, notably Bys-trík's catechism, (Nová Cesta) homiletic sources for preachers of the Word of God in Slovak, especially the various revised editions of Sacred Scripture, liturgical texts and prayerbooks, biographies of heroic men, Christian meditations, and finally general works in prose and poetry. Obviously, this is a great treasure, a rich inheritance, an almost inexhaustible source of infinite variety that helps to keep alive the genuine spirit of the Slovak nation in its historic homeland, as well as far beyond its natural boundaries throughout all parts of the free world.

Now it is easier to reply to the question: "Of what importance are our Slovak publications abroad?"

At the very outset of our brief study, let us reflect upon the religious angle. It is no secret, neither an untruth, to declare that the regime now ruling Slovakia is not only unfriendly but inimical to religion, employing all of its machinery to destroy the religious life of the people after depriving them of every means of publication and communication to resist godless warfare upon their Faith. What little religious publication the regime tolerates is so negligible that it serves the state rather than the Church



or religion, as far the press is concerned. This applies to the *Spolok sv. Vojtecha*, which once was the chief source of religious instruction and religious literary publications for the common people, as well as for the intelligentsia, but at present its publishing activities in the religious program have been reduced almost to zero. Meanwhile, its resources are actually being misused in the planning of the Party system for abetting and supplementing its ideological struggle against religion all along the line.

A liturgical renewal from which an intensification of the spiritual life was naturally expected was announced as necessary to those who believe in God. This, of course, went against the grain of an actively aggressive atheism. Permission for paper and printing for this purpose advanced at a snail's pace and virtually came to a standstill as government requisition failed to materialize. Quite surprisingly, but soon fully understood, was a motherly concern by the atheistic regime to preserve the Latin liturgy intact, it was fearful of the introduction of the vernacular because the language of the people would strengthen the position of the church.

Meanwhile, the Slovak Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Rome edited and published a complete Slovak-Latin Missal which, under the circumstances (the result of Divine Providence actually), the civil authorities in Slovakia could not refuse entry because that would have given them a bad image abroad. Thus, the liturgical movement gained momentum and reached all parishes and became at the same time a manifestation of the strong faith of the people and a source of spiritual nourishment.

In Rome a Slovak missal appeared in the latest post-conciliar form and is now in use in Slovak parishes outside Slovakia. This has not only activated a spiritual renewal among the Slovak faithful abroad but has assured the preservation of the Slovak language in various parts of the free world, which is indirectly a vital contribution to the entire Slovak nation.

Last year, only because of pressure from abroad, an edition of new canons for the Mass was published in Slovakia.

Our people in Slovakia were unable to obtain prayer-books to strengthen them morally and spiritually in their everyday struggle for their temporal as well as for their

spiritual welfare. They, therefore, begged their brethren abroad not for bread but rather for prayerbooks that were denied them in their own native land. Their more fortunate brethren heeded their plea even though it required sacrifices beyond the call of duty . . . and for this the public activists in Slovakia ought to be grateful, too, because prayer contributes to public morality, to borrow a contemporary and timely phrase. Moreover, morality suffers a sharp decline where prayer ceases. The people who work most conscientiously in our native country are certainly those who pray . . . and, thank God, there are few exceptions, if any.

If the rulers of our country were not blinded by their fanatical hatred of God and religious beliefs, we could suggest a helpful program, namely, to give the people more prayerbooks, assuring them that then the morale of the workers everywhere would improve considerably and the working standards would increase, too, because a vital religious faith is a source of action: it inevitably inspires an optimistic attitude and fosters initiative. Without these primary principles there cannot be spontaneous and fruitful productivity.

Ideological atheism in practice spawns laziness, indifference, indolence, and exploitation, in fact, to put it bluntly, eventually it robs both the individual and society.

For the above cited reasons the majority of Slovak tourists from abroad sought to bring into Slovakia, particularly during the year before the Soviet invasion of 1968, a generous supply of prayerbooks and religious literature. The spiritual hunger of the Slovak people, subjected to a planned scarcity of religious sources of the printed word, was satisfied temporarily, at least, by a welcome influx of books, which offered conclusive proof or evidence that there was a universal need for religious literature as the result of anti-religious policies of the governing regime. At the same time, it manifested beyond any doubt that the best part of the people understood the need and value of such books for their temporal and spiritual welfare.

Karel Havlíček-Borovský who said many obscene things elsewhere, did, however, express something nice about books as being "a universal school, a school for young and old, a school with many wise teachers." If he really meant 'good' books, he certainly deserves an A plus.

Dr. Montaigne considered books to be the best preparation for life's journey, and he felt pity for all who did not possess books. In our times, he would have felt sorry, too, for those who are forced to read books that are contrary to their way of sound thinking.

Ruskin wrote that books are as necessary to man as wings for a bird. And in this respect the Slovak book abroad became practically the only means for a Christian training of our Slovak youth in their native homeland. The various catechisms for old and young, life stories of virtuous young men and women, reflections on various themes for the sophisticated, e. g., Hlinka's works (*K širším obzorom*—To wider horizons and *Cesty*—Highways) are rich sources from which all may benefit, both those who are being trained and the trainers themselves personally.

In no way it is rash or a breach of confidence to state that Marxism-Leninism, as we know it so far, has not proved successful in the development or the advancement of man. While on a state visit to Hungary the late Khrushchev said quite frankly in jest (but truthfully at any rate) that Russian specialists were unable to train even a young ox, it was enough for the animal to start kicking, the Ukrainian politician said, and the so-called experts scattered in all directions.

Particularly in the training of youth the communist system proved to be a failure, for which we have more evidence than is necessary to prove our point. If the communist (Marxist-Leninist) system accomplished something it has been one-sided and doubtful because it does not consider the whole person: it ignores his religious instincts and warps his moral nature. It knows only how to harness instincts and human resources to serve its own perverse purposes and designs.

Unfortunately, this is not the place nor the time to dwell upon the moral condition of the Slovak youth today. I will leave the discussion to authorities on the subject and hope that they will devote more time to study the situation in depth and give a more factual and detailed report at some future date.

Slovak editions abroad are a great help to our students in their own country. The well known 'scripts' of profes-

sors—primarily in the theological schools—are far from complete, if for no other reason than that they are lacking in proper information on the subject and they ignore the development of reasoning and leave out the basic fundamentals of theological and philosophical truths. Theologians in the city of Bratislava have various handbooks at their disposal, even though concise, for teaching philosophy, theology, sociology and the Bible, both the Old and New Testament. Undoubtedly, many are acquainted with the works, "*Posolstvo*—Mission," and "*Za svetlom*—Towards the Light" by dedicated men like Msgr. Botek and Msgr. Vrabec. Authoritative handbooks, though lacking much in details, are still far superior to mere 'scripts.'

Not even in the field of prose, simply literature, is our group of authors in exile out of step with the times. This fact was admitted in Slovakia when there was some freedom of speech, and when, for a short time several years ago, publications in the country were permitted without being subject to orders 'from above.'

Dante's *Inferno* was translated about the same time both in and outside of Slovakia. In my opinion, in many ways, the translation in exile excelled the domestic edition. The translation and selections of Claudel's poetry in exile, too, are far better than that of the edition in Slovakia. It was not without ulterior motives, therefore, that Karol Strmeň, author of the above mentioned translations, became the subject of a virulent attack in the domestic press of Slovakia.

Hronský's original novels and short stories, written and published in exile, were admitted for publication in his native homeland. Mečiar's critical reviews of Kukučín's works, too, were permitted entry as a source of vital information about this Slovak novelist who lived in Argentina for many years.

The *Most* quarterly and the *Slovák v Amerike's Almanach* somehow get into Slovakia and are circulated throughout the country. Slovak poems from abroad are copied and circulated, memorized and recited in closed circles. This, too, belongs to popular education, esthetics, literature, etc. as an answer to those who would deny



not only political and religious liberty but cultural freedom to the Slovak nation in its native homeland.

A word about the meaning and mission of Slovak political literature abroad, particularly for these reasons: 1) In the free world alone can one express himself freely in behalf of the self-determination of the Slovak nation, and nations in the same predicament, or for freedom to manifest its will to control its own national destiny. 2) The truth can be spoken, written and proved in the free world alone as to the past history of the Slovak nation in the light of the facts and truth without fear of police interference and judicial reprisals.

We are responsible for the destiny of our Slovak nation that cannot, at this time under the present circumstances, know the full truth of its past because the truth is hidden or falsified and distorted in behalf of the party in power. That is why the Slovak nation is thankful to God that beyond the reach of the politbureau events as they actually happen are factually reported and registered without any pressure from directives or threats from the Party meetings.

These are the reasons why I recommend that we have a common center for our historic and political publications of our writers abroad, and no one can hold this against me, justly, that is. A common and mutual endeavor is our responsibility because history—life's teacher—must also be a teacher in our political life.

The late Matúš Černák, Karol Sidor, Dr. František Hrušovský and Konštantín Čulen, as well as the living, namely, Professor Vojtech Bucko, Dr. Arvéd Grébert, Krištof Greiner, Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský, Dr. Jozef Kirschbaum, Dr. Jozef Mikuš, Dr. Jozef Paučo, Dr. Ján Rekem, Professor František Vnuk and many, many others in our Slovak life have made invaluable contributions to the Slovak nation's cause, and to the world in general, by their numerous efforts and achievements. All these will someday provide inexhaustible sources for those who will write the history of Slovakia and the Slovak nation without any bias or prejudice.

The future will be concerned not only with historic events but with the truth about personalities who come

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to the fore in the re-creation of history as it actually happened. For example, the history of Hlinka or Tiso, and of their closest collaborators, and adversaries, too, can now be known only in the writings of authors in the free world because in their homeland a furious campaign to erase their names from history pages, a hate campaign to smear their names and to eliminate them as persons who in their time exercised profound influence. That must be adequately evaluated in Slovak history in the future.

Personal biographical profiles sketched by the pens of Dr. Paučo, Bor and others in the free world will one day hold a place of honor in the national album of the great men in the history of the Slovak nation and its historic homeland of a thousand and more years.

Finally, the meaning of the Slovak word, written, spoken, in exile, and somewhat emphasized, perhaps, will one day be understood and properly evaluated in the future when the Slovaks will once again control their national destiny as a free nation in central Europe.

The governing regime in Slovakia has unwittingly given public testimony of the intrinsic value of the Slovak word from abroad. The Postal Center 120 in Praha put a ban on Slovak periodicals and publications from abroad and has consistently returned or destroyed the Slovak printed word from the free world.

The first document presented here is that of the postal administration addressed to the sender of a parcel of books. I submit it fully with the exception of the name of the publication and the date to prevent tracing the source of my information. It reads:

Pošta Praha 120. In Prague, date...

Dear Sir, Dear sirs, We inform you that your inclosed postal parcel contains, among other items, the following publication: ... The entry and circulation of such publications is prohibited by a law on publication and information, given on the basis of Law 23, No. 8/1966 Sb., relating to periodicals, publications and other informational mediums according to Law No. 23, 127/1968, Sb. That is why these publications were forbidden postal delivery. Items not admitted for postal delivery fall under Par. 6, Art. 4 of the official regulation No. 240/1949, Sb. under postal laws for the welfare of the state. Greeting—Peace to the world.

The refusal is officially stamped: "Pošta Praha 120". Instead of a signature, there is only the letter K.

When such restrictions of freedom of expression are based upon so many laws or regulations, this campaign against the means of formation or information, the spiritual isolation of the people cannot be anything less than illegal legislation and legal spiritual homicide.

The second document even more graphically illustrates opposition against religion, which, apparently to all intents and purposes, the state is developing in a legalistic form. It reads:

Dissemination of information garnered from foreign publications. Letter and disposition of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic, N. MK, 4525/1971 of June 17. 1971. To all the centers of church and religious bodies in Slovakia. Through assorted channels a variety of foreign periodicals and publications dealing with religious and church problems have been brought into the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, whose contents in many cases are biased and in conflict with the interests of our socialist state. Their evaluation has shown that they contain articles which untruthfully and rudely slander the CSSR. Future distribution or circulations of such materials, or any part thereof, is not permitted. This regulation also is in force in regards to the distribution or publication of certain informative instructions, etc., whether by internal religious organs, in official bulletins or in any form whatsoever. We warn that any activity that is contrary to the interest of socialist society is a misdemeanor, according to P. 5, Law No. 150/1969, Sb. We direct that you inform all branches subject to your authority of the contents of these instructions. K. Homola, Secretary General and Director for Church Affairs.

This communique (signed by K. Homola) in general refers to "foreign" periodicals and publications, as if it avoided labeling them properly "Slovak," but which subsequently became clear because only these were returned by the postal authorities with the words: "Non admis... Not admitted..." Later the explanation in French was added: "Returned. Violates Custom Regulations."

Attempts to obtain official copies of the specific government regulations in order to comply with the law have been in vain. Non-admittance of publications from the outside world is now absolute and arbitrary. The returned publications with the official stamp of rejection attached have been filed in the archives of Slovak organizations

as real proofs and evidence for the future of the present spiritual enslavement of the people by the ruling regime for which the light of truth is obviously a much-feared scarecrow.

The dialectics of the communist party defines everything as "biased" if it does not come off its own press, if it fails to idolize Marxism-Leninism, if it does not propagate the idea of the world revolution of the proletariat, etc. Of course, this type of "bias" is detrimentally opposed to the interests of a socialist state, namely the CSSR. Note that even 'internal church information and instructions from abroad' constitute misdemeanors if distributed (if they are not favorable to the spread of communism) because by the very fact they are not pro, they must be con—according to the borrowed Biblical phrase, "Who is not for me, is against me..." twisted to suit their own ends and purposes!

Someone once observed that the burning of books furnishes light in darkness. We can surely apply this remark in the case of Slovak books arriving at postal centers in Czecho-Slovakia, particularly in Prague. Their fate may be that they are merely censored and confiscated, then returned to the sender, but more often consigned officially to be burned. Despite this, they continue to have their influence. The fear, in official circles of Czecho-Slovakia, of the Slovak word from abroad is clearly a case of a bad conscience.

I conclude this review of past events with reference to a recent article in our press in Slovakia that labelled Slovak emigration as a dry, lifeless branch of the Slovak nation. How much or little truth there is in that arbitrary statement an unprejudiced person can easily determine.



**THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA** through its Ladies Auxiliary, the "VČIELKY" (Bees), sponsors Slovak cultural displays, concerts, lectures, art exhibits, folk festivals, social evenings, etc. Our aim is to have a "Hive" of our "Včielky" in every large Slovak community.



## *Twenty Years of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland*

*Joseph Paučo, Ph.D.*

It was not by mere chance that on September 15, 1952, the Slovak Institute was founded at St. Andrew Svorad Abbey in Cleveland, Ohio. For years the Slovak Benedictine abbey had been a center for Slovak books, periodicals, publications and materials of historic value. But since lines of communication were practically terminated with Slovakia in the postwar era after World War II it was deemed necessary to establish an institution that would be, in some measure at last, a substitute, temporarily, for the Matica Slovenská and the Spolok sv. Vojtecha for the purpose of giving moral support to Slovak writers, artists and all cultural workers in the Slovak world in exile.

Abbot Theodore Kojiš, O.S.B. called a special meeting to establish the Slovak Institute. The Charter members were: Abbot Kojiš, who was elected president, Dr. František Hrušovský, Ph.D., whom the president named immediately as director, and members Rev. Mikuláš Šprinc, Dr. Joseph Cincík, Ph.D., Dr. Karol Strmeň, Ph.D. and Rev. Andrew Pír, O.S.B. A decade later a branch of the Institute was formed in Rome and approved by the executive council in Cleveland.

Known far and wide as a prominent leader among American Slovaks and the builder of St. Andrew's Abbey, Abbot Kojiš became vitally interested in promoting American Slovak culture. It was mainly through his initiative, vision and leadership that a grant of \$50,000 was made by the Abbey chapter to build the Slovak SS. Cyril and Methodius center in Rome. This action inspired individuals and organizations among Slovaks through the free world to pour out approximately a million dollars for the new religious and cultural Slovak enterprise in the Eternal City.

The Abbot, a lover and patron of good books, promoted the publication of a number of works that proved invaluable as solid historical sources of the true story of the Slovak nation's destiny in central Europe. These were distributed to various public and university libraries throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Abbot Theodore Kojiš, O.S.B. represented the Slovak Institute publicly as its president and privately as a generous host to an ever-increasing stream of guests who discovered his ready willingness to promote Slovak cultural projects in the interest of the common Slovak cause. In the Church he was an authoritative spokesman for the Slovak people.

Dr. František Hrušovský, Ph.D., author of the first complete scholarly history of the Slovak nation, continued to draw upon his extensive knowledge of the historical background of the Slovaks by writing many articles for American Slovak newspapers and publications on a variety of themes relating to the glorious past of his native homeland of Slovakia. His Slovak history (*Slovenské dejiny*) in no small measure helped to intensify and enrich the national consciousness of the Slovak people during the eventful era of the Slovak Republic. As a matter of record, his historical work in several editions (exceeding the publication of more than 100,000 volumes) was a complete sellout before World War II.

In Cleveland, Ohio, in less than a decade of untiring work and relentless effort, Dr. Hrušovský made a lasting impression on American Slovak life before his untimely death at the age of 53 on September 9, 1956. In addition to his many articles which appeared regularly in the Slovak press he was in constant demand as an eloquent speaker. Moreover, he succeeded in correcting many misconceptions about the Slovak people and their native country. The documented history of Slovak Religious Orders in America, published in 1955, was perhaps the crowning achievement of his monumental work in America.

Konštantín Čulen, a leading Slovak journalist and publicist, as well as a dynamic patriot, succeeded the eminent Dr. Hrušovský as the second director of the Slovak Institute. Konšto Čulen, author of a popular history of

the American Slovaks before World War II that won a national award in his native homeland of Slovakia, continued to collect, classify and publish a series of historical articles on the early beginnings of Slovak life in America.

Far-reaching plans into the future by Čulen were inaugurated by a Slovak Exhibition of books and art under the sponsorship in the Slovak Institute in the Benedictine High School auditorium in 1957. The Exhibit in which Dr. Cincík collaborated with the help of the Slovak Brothers at the Abbey was a pronounced success and a manifestation of Čulen's great love of Slovak culture, as well as his deep and unquestioned appreciation of the contributions of the American Slovaks to our common national heritage. His was unquestionably a true idealism, unbridled enthusiasm and genuine attachment to the cultural values of the Slovak nation.

Unfortunately, tragedy marked the life of Konštantín Čulen. What he planned he was unable to complete. He envisioned a grandiose program: a new, revised and detailed history of the American Slovaks and a series of biographies of leading Slovaks. He planned to accomplish all this under the aegis of the Slovak Institute with the help of an ever-increasing staff of research scholars and co-workers.

But Čulen vanished from sight like a meteor in the heavens. Nonetheless, neither Dr. Hrušovský nor Čulen lived in vain. Their names are immortalized by their works and will live forever in the annals of Slovak history.

Abbot Theodore Kojiš, O.S.B. placed the Slovak Institute into the hands of his religious colleague, Rev. Andrej Pír, O.S.B. in 1958. The third director of the Institute had much in common with his illustrious predecessors. He shared with them a common love for Slovak culture and, like both of them, he, too, was an indefatigable, energetic and enthusiastic worker.

Today the Slovak Institute continues to enlarge its library and archives (over 10,000 items) which are in the process of being organized and systematically classified and cataloged each summer by a library staff under the

direction of Sister Angelina Burak, SS.C.M. from Villa Sacred Heart, Danville, Pa.

Originally the nucleus for the present creditable library of Slovak books at the Institute was provided by the Matica Slovenská and Spolok sv. Vojtecha delegations that came to America in 1935 and 1937 respectively. Each contributed several hundred volumes directly from Slovakia. Year by year individuals and organizations continue to send in books, periodicals and souvenirs (such as ceramics, pictures, photos, etc.) and these are added to the valuable collection at the Institute.

As director of the Slovak Institute, Father Pír, O.S.B. has taken care of the library in the traditional spirit of the sons of St. Benedict who have always manifested special concern for books, manuscripts, etc. down through the centuries.

A decade ago the Slovak Institute sponsored a Book Fair in the Benedictine High School auditorium, the first public ethnic display of books in the city of Cleveland.

Father Pír is in touch with many cultural-minded persons and has the opportunity to meet students who do research in the Slovak fields of literature, art, history, science, politics, economics, industry, religion and education. He has been a steady contributor of articles to Slovak periodicals on assorted Slovak subjects for the past thirty years. In Cleveland he has been the director of a speaker's bureau for the Cleveland Slovak Cultural Radio Club (Station WERE) for more than a quarter of a century. Under his supervision approximately a hundred speakers have delivered more than a total of 1,250 speeches since 1947. He has been the editor of the Ave Maria religious magazine the past 15 years. His "Slovak News and Views" weekly column, which began in 1947 as a feature in the Katolícky Sokol weekly and was transferred to the Jednota weekly newspaper in 1959, is a true reflection of Slovak contemporary life here and elsewhere. For many this column has been an inspiration for the study of their own background, particularly among Slovak youth.

Although the Slovak Institute is primarily an American Slovak institution in Cleveland, it has a branch in Rome.

This gives it somewhat of an international flavor and offers scholars a wide field of research in problems that effect the destiny of the Slovak nation. Needless to add, this gives the Slovak Institute added prestige both here and abroad.

Abbot Jerome Koval, O.S.B., who succeeded Abbot Kojiš as president of the Slovak Institute, retained both Father Pír as director and Dr. Karol Strmeň, Ph.D. as secretary of the Institute. Both are closely associated as co-editors of the Ave Maria magazine published by St. Andrew's Abbey in Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. Karol Strmeň, Ph.D. rightfully enjoys a high place in Slovak culture. He is a talented poet and a versatile translator of the leading poets of the world. There is scarcely a poet of renown in the West or East with whose work he is not acquainted, and whose poems are not represented in Slovak literature through his translations. Both his original poems and those he has translated are veritable pearls in Slovak literature.

There is no doubt that Dr. Strmeň is the most qualified person for the office of secretary of the Slovak Institute. For years he has been associated with its director. For the most part of a decade (1949-1959) he was a member of the triumvirate (Dr. Francis Hrušovský, Ph.D., Rev. Andrew Pír, O.S.B., Dr. Karol Strmeň, Ph.D.) that edited the Slovenské noviny—Slovak News weekly.

Dr. Strmeň is a multi-faceted personality whom it is difficult to classify or emulate. It is no exaggeration to claim that he is unique, and irreplaceable in Slovak literature.

Father Mikuláš Šprinc, a life-long friend of Dr. Strmeň, may be called his "literary twin." He, too, is one of the Charter members of the Slovak Institute and belongs in the brightest constellation of the Slovak literary world.

Father Šprinc's prolific works in poetry and prose surpass practically all of his contemporaries here, in his native Slovakia or abroad. Each year for the past quarter of a century he has published at least one book. Literary critics have given his works favorable reviews through the years. His productivity is surely impressive.



Comparison of Šprinc and Strmeň as poets leaves us puzzled. Both have their admirers, and one would find it difficult to choose whose poetry excels. Their styles and subjects are quite different. Both, however, are truly poets.

New laurels have been won by Father Šprinc by the continuous editorship of the *Most*, a Slovak cultural quarterly, the past nineteen years. After a succession of several publishers, the Slovak Institute adopted it as an official publication during the past decade. Many of the best writings of Slovak authors and artists in exile have appeared in this excellent cultural periodical.

Contemporaries, perhaps, are not aware of the difficulties that have to be overcome in editing a cultural publication of classical quality. Literary critics and keen observers of the Slovak emigrants' struggles in a strange world, however, appreciate the sacrifices of the editor and his staff, and contributors, who have produced a worthwhile work at a time when wars and revolutions raged and political disturbances everywhere buffeted us on every side and threatened to wrest the pens and palettes of Slovak writers and artists from our hands.

Charismatic gifts of Father Šprinc are quite manifest in his eloquent preaching of the Word of God, as well as in his public speeches. He has travelled throughout the United States and Canada, sowing the seed of truth everywhere and performing invaluable service to the Slovak cause in a twofold manner: a) By arousing, informing and inspiring his hearers and readers; b) By obtaining ideas for new works. He is a true analyst of the thoughts and feelings of the American Slovaks to whom he belongs heart and soul, both as a priest of God and as a literary genius.

Dr. Jozef Cincík, Ph.D., a Charter member, too, has done yeoman work by his unique work in art in the common cause of Slovak advancement in cultural endeavor far from his native homeland. His work bears the indelible mark of a rich personality and is an integral part of our American Slovak heritage. A number of Slovak churches have the unmistakable 'Dr. Cincík' stamp of artistic design emanating from his deep knowledge of the history of Slovak art and the science of archeology. Through many of his discoveries in the latter field he has helped to place

Slovakia on the map as an important archeological center in the very heart of central Europe.

In his native homeland of Slovakia where he was a prominent member of the Matica Slovenská and the Slovak University staff, Dr. Cincík's imprint of genius is evident in many church edifices, public buildings, and illustrations of books and engravings of the currency and banknotes of the Slovak Republic.

If there is anything regrettable in the career of Dr. Cincík it is certainly the cruel fate that drove him into exile, thus depriving his country of his rich creative talents at a time when they are needed the most.

No one can deny that Dr. Cincík is eminently capable of expressing his unusual artistic talents in works of arts and in his writings, but he excels, too, in his ability to turn on a veritable torrent of words in his native Slovak tongue. Moreover, he is a living Slovak encyclopedia. To catch every word requires at least a pair of wide-awake listeners. It will surely be a great loss not to register his informal lectures, which on occasion he gives spontaneously and with a brilliant display of imaginative and dramatic flourishes that add color to his profound, scholarly and extemporaneous talks in an intimate gathering of friends.

So much for the historic background of the Slovak Institute's Charter members. In the past twenty years many outstanding personalities and authorities in various fields of science, literature, art, history, music, religion and public life have become intimately associated with the Institute. The list is long enough to merit a volume or two of memoirs. But that is not our mission.

On the 20th anniversary of the Slovak Institute we cannot pass over reference to a vital role played by its branch in Rome where Reverend Michael Lacko, S. J., Ph.D., has done notable work in editing the Slovak Studies. It is a pioneer project and appears annually, mainly in the English language. A variety of important articles by authorities in various fields is proof of the merit of this timely issue. As a program for the future it would be quite worthwhile to extend its efforts by the publication of its contents in leading modern languages. This could, indeed,

become the main purpose of the Roman branch of the Slovak Institute.

As we pause on the occasion of its 20th anniversary to express our congratulations and gratitude to the Slovak Institute in Cleveland, Ohio, for its achievements in behalf of Slovak culture in the free world, we note with satisfaction that it has fulfilled its avowed purpose of existence as expressed precisely in the Constitution and by-laws:

"The Slovak Institute at St. Andrew's Abbey wants to support Slovak cultural life by inviting all Slovak cultural workers living in the free world outside Slovakia to membership, and promises to aid them in every possible manner in their cultural, scientific, literary and artistic endeavors because the Slovak nation in its historic homeland after World War II cannot freely rule its own destiny according to its own principles, spirit or ideals, and consequently cannot direct its own proper cultural development."

No program of dynamic action in the next foreseeable fifty or seventy years can excel the idealism incorporated in the original Constitution and by-laws of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland as adopted a score of years ago.

• • •

**SLOVAK 'INSTANT MILLIONAIRE' DIES** John Mizerák, a retired factory worker who became an instant millionaire via the New York State lottery last September, died February 5, 1973 in Little Falls (N.Y.) Hospital. He was 77.

Mizerák, blinded by glaucoma for several years, had been hospitalized since January 10 with an undisclosed illness.

Mizerák, his wife Anna and their only child, John W. "Rusty" Mizerák, a musician and former baseball player in the Cincinnati Reds organization, won \$1 million in the 1972 "summer special" lottery after the number of their \$3 ticket was drawn.

# *The Inflectional Morphology of Standard Slovak: A Descriptive Analysis*

*John Michael Kochik, Ph.D.*

Research on this topic grew out of a desire to present Standard Slovak anew in a particularly modern linguistic form. The work was performed and completed at the University of Pittsburgh under the direction of the late Doctor Charles E. Bidwell, Professor of Linguistics and Slavic Linguistics.

The aim of this work is to give English-speakers interested in the Slovak language a concise, consistent, and structurally-oriented description in the analysis of Standard Slovak inflectional morphology. The theoretical approach is primarily that of American structural descriptivism (in this case neo-Bloomfieldian).

The study commences with a general introduction in which a definition of the variety of Slovak analyzed, the approximate number of contemporaneous speakers, and its linguistic locale are provided. A brief history of the language from earliest to modern times is presented, listing some of the outstanding proponents of the modern literary form and contributors to its development. Previous structural treatments of the language are outlined, implemented by the author's original treatments projected into the sections on morphophonemics and on the verb, with certain original features produced in the methods of noun classification, special-type classification of many adjectives, the illustration of similarities among some of the noun, pronoun and adjective endings, the arrangements of paradigms to illustrate identical endings, the use of synoptic tables to exhibit the endings, and the analysis of the comparative formant into two morphemes. The symbols and conventions, the phonemic notation, the primary

sources consulted, the acknowledgments as well as the abbreviations utilized in the work complete section one.

Section two lists the phonemes of the language: the vowels and the consonants, and adds a paragraph on the primary and secondary stresses in the language.

Section three treats morphophonemics, both automatic and non-automatic (here an original treatment, as stated above). Under automatic morphophonemics are presented: voicing assimilation, simplification of double consonants, simplification of consonant clusters, sibilant assimilation, and the sequence of (j) plus (i) plus a vowel [other than (i)]. Under non-automatic morphophonemics are these: the classification of consonantal stems as "hard" and "soft", the morphophonemic length correspondences of vowels, the alternation of vowel and zero, the "Rhythmic Law" concerning vowel length, the intercalation of -j- before verbal suffixes, and the substitutive softening of certain consonants, and the dental/palatal changes.

Section four begins the morphology (that is, the inflection of endings). The noun is treated first. Nouns are divided into various classes, principally feminine, neuter and masculine. These in turn are divided into subclasses according to their inflectional peculiarities. Feminine nouns have the subclasses: *žena* (hard stem), *ulica-dlaň* (soft stem), *kost'* and *pani*. Neuter nouns have subclasses exemplified by the words: *mesto* (hard stem), *plece* (soft stem), *vysvedčenie*, and *dievča*. Masculine nouns are subclassified according to the sample words: *chlap* (hard stem animate), *dub* (hard stem inanimate), *priateľ* (soft stem animate), *meč* (soft stem inanimate), *ujko* (masculine o-noun), and the mixed declension: *sluha*. Next follow the mixed *mesto/kost'* (*oko*, *ucho*) nouns, the mixed neuter noun *diet'a*, and the mixed noun/adjective declensions exemplified by *ujčiná* and *mufti*. A synoptic table of noun-type endings is included.

Section five consists of the adjectives: *nový* (hard declension), *cudzí* (soft declension), substantivized adjectives, short-form adjectives, special adjectives: possessives from nouns like *bratov*, and pronominal possessives like *môj*, and *jeden*. A synoptic table of adjective-type endings is incorporated. Finally, the comparative degree of adjectives and adverbs is treated.



Section six comprises the personal pronouns and the interrogative/relative pronouns.

Section seven presents the cardinal (plus the compound) and the collective numerals.

Section eight describes the verb. Its introduction defines the verb in this study. Given next are the endings of the finite forms. The formants are presented in this order: the imperative, the gerund and present active participle, the infinitive, the *l*-forms, the past active participle, the past passive participle and the verbal noun.

The verb is classified according to the thematic vowel in the present- and the infinitive-stems.

All verbs are subdivided into Class I which has the same thematic vowel in all forms, and Class II which has in most cases different thematic vowels in the present- and the infinitive-stems and in all cases thematic zero in present-stem forms other than first singular to second plural.

Within Class I there are two subclasses: the *a*-type with thematic *a* (*volat'*, *vracat'*, *čítat'*) and the *ie*<sup>1</sup>-type with thematic *ie* or its shortened variant *e* (*rozumiet'*, *múdriet'*).

Class II contains the following subtypes with the combination of thematic vowels in the present- and infinitive-stem: *ei*<sup>2</sup>-type with thematic *ie* or its shortened variant *e* in the infinitive stem and the present tense (except 3 pl.), (*triet'*, *mliet'*), *ie*/Ø- (*niest'*, *minút'*), *ie*/*a*- (*brat'*, *hnat'*); *e*/Ø- (*bit'*, *priat'*, *žat'*, *krađnúť*), *e*/*a*- (*hrabat'*, *česat'*, *pracovat'*, *klat'*); *i*-type with thematic *i* in the infinitive stem and present tense (except 3 pl.), (*hovorit'*, *kúpit'*); *i*/*e*- (*vidiet'*), *i*/*a*- (*ležat'*, *spat'*, *stát'*); and the special *e*/*ie*-verb *chciet'*.

Base suffixes are provided as the next feature. Then, presented are the alternations in the base which include the base-final consonant change, substitutive softening alternations, change in the infinitive formant, alternation of the root-final nasal consonant with the vowel in a certain verb-type, root alternations including one vowel alternating with another vowel, simple root-vowel lengthening in a certain verb-type, the alternation of a vowel and zero, and certain irregularities in verb-types.

Aspect derivation exemplified by perfectivization and imperfectivization follow next. Perfectivization is described according to the technique of prefixation, the addition of certain suffixes, and suppletion. Imperfectivization methods are explained, followed by the characterization of frequentative verbs.

The section on the verb is concluded with the verbal constructions in which are listed and clarified: the future of imperfective verbs; the *l*-form constructions which embrace the simple past, the pluperfect, the conditional, the conditional past, and the negation of the *l*-form constructions; the passive constructions; and, the word-order of elements in verbal constructions.

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Štefan Polakovič:

# *The Ethnical Philosophy of L'udovít Štúr\**

## A. INTRODUCTION

### *1. Philosophy and Life*

The present day people generally are ignoring the Philosophy and consider it as an antiquarian and discarded discipline without any relation to the concrete life. And they forget that even the most unphilosophical concrete, individual life is expression of philosophy. It would be sufficient to observe an individual and his actions in order to write down "his" philosophy, i. e. the principles which are guiding him in his personal life.

There is a mutual dependence between philosophy and life to such an extent that the fulness of the accidental aspects of the life is permeated by the general principles of philosophical character, while these principles in their abstract form can become a ferment for concrete life and contribute, by their turn, to the changes and even upheavals of the life.

This fundamental relation between life and philosophy has been observed by Plato and Aristoteles teaching that the beginning of philosophy is "admiring" (thaumazein). And in reality, there are many concrete "materials" in the concrete world for the analysis of an observing mind.

As a philosopher who received a Hegelian formation in its authentic source during his studies in Germany, L'udovít Štúr did not remain insensible in front of the concrete situation of the Slovak nation in Hungary at the beginning of the 19th century. It was a splendid "material" to be analyzed and studied under the light of the then modern philosophical doctrine. And these studies had been done by Štúr with the result of general principles, valid even today, on the life of nations in general. From the other side, the very same conditions of the Slovaks in

Hungary were for the patriot Štúr an object of very serious preoccupations. In this way, if from one side he was abstracting general principles out of this situation, from the other side he was putting down general principles for the recuperation of the Slovaks and their awakening from the centennial sleepiness.<sup>1</sup>

## *2. The Ethnical Situation in Hungary in 1800 and After*

After the destruction of the Slovak kingdom in 910 A.D. by the Magyars with the help of the Franks (Germans) and its occupation by the victors, the higher culture of the Slovaks did not permit their assimilation by the Magyars<sup>2</sup> and so, in order to maintain the stability of the problematic common monarchy for two different nations (the Slovaks are Slavs and the Magyars are Mongolians), the new kings had recourse to a solution unique in the history of Europe: the adoption of the Latin as official language of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> This anachronical situation lasted until 1793, when the Magyar language was for the first time codified and first attempts had been made to impose the Magyar language as the official one in the entire territory of Hungary.

The consequences of the use of the Latin in Hungary during nine centuries were disastrous both for the Slovaks and Magyars: neither the Slovaks nor the Magyars had been able to develop their own literary works and so their language remained limited to the vernacular function (folk songs, folk legends etc.). After the Reform only appear here and there the first Slovak and Magyar works printed in dialects.

Another, not less disastrous consequence of the reign of the Latin in our country was "darkness, brutality; lack of undertaking and higher civic liberty"<sup>4</sup>; such was the common destiny of the Slovaks and the Magyars because of the lack of instruction.

The schools and the real life of the two nations were separated by an abysmal gap: "All the knowledge and culture in the middle age were sticking in the schools and were limited to them . . . It was a natural consequence of the separation of the schools from the life due to the foreign language" (i. e. the Latin).<sup>5</sup>

This led to the "contemptuous looking of the schools on the life, the condemnation of the common life as of



something vulgar; the contempt of national life and eradication of the even undangerous national customs; the rise of the cultivated casts and general neglect of the people who . . . were needing instruction nor were allowed to enter into the temple of the instruction.”<sup>6</sup>

As soon as the Magyars codified their language, the Slovaks did the same: The Slovak Grammar of Bernolák appeared before the year 1800. What the Slovaks as a nation could not do was to hamper the magyarisation of the high and low Slovak nobility which at that time due to the *raisons d'Etat* stood behind the governmental power. This renegation of the Slovak nobility was a death blow to the Slovak national interests and since then the word “renegade” got a smell of moral insanity among the Slovaks.

In this way to the Slovaks “were left the middle classes only: townsmen, low clergy, teachers.”<sup>7</sup> The Slovaks were left only “what could not be taken away from them . . . due to the impossibility of the matters.”<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Civic Priesthood of Štúr

Štúr was 25 years old, when he came back to Slovakia from Germany: the mind full of ideas and the heart full of love for his Slovak nation.

His decision as far as his personal life was concerned, was all made already: he had to sacrifice his life to his people and decided not to get married in order to be completely free from familiar ties. In very short nine years (from 1840 to 1849) he developed a febrile activity as teacher and scholar, as publisher and journalist, as politician and representative to Parliament, as revolutionary and soldier. He succeeded in forming an entire generation of Slovak activists whose merit was the preservation of the Slovak national life in a hostile and brutal country. The students were drawn by his ideas and confirmed by the chastity of his exemplar personal life. Štúr was doing what he was preaching: to prefer the common and public interests to his own personal advantages. He was not appointed by anybody to this national job: he had chosen it freely as a selfappointed high priest subject to his conscience and God only according to one of his devices: “We entered into the service of the Spirit; therefore we have to pass on a life full of thorns.”

We got registered his farewell speech to his students before they left for holidays in 1842: like Moses on the mount Nebo with his hands elevated towards the heaven imploring God's blessings for the fighting soldiers Štúr was dismissing his friends in the function of national missionaries like a high priest: "Who is living out of the spirit, is living in the humanity, is living suitably to humanity... and who is not living out to the spirit, is living for himself only, there is no humanity in him not is he in the humanity, because he is natural being only and not spiritual being like is the humanity... Why the field of our Slovakia lies fallow as a desert; why our nation fell so down? Because it is not conscious of itself... it is unconscious in the sphere of language, customs and ways of life as a distinct personality, it does not know itself as one wholeness, is not aware of itself and does not understand itself in the spirit of its own personality as belonging exclusively to itself."<sup>9</sup>

In Ľudovít Štúr's works, articles, speeches there is a graduation during the mentioned nine years: the climax of all this febrile activity is the armed uprising of 1848-49 against the Magyars with the declaration of the independence of Slovakia (September 19, 1848). After this unsuccessful uprising the police curtain fell over a life consecrated to his nation: house prison, sorrow and death.

In brevi explevit tempora multa...

## B. ŠTÚR'S IDEAS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF NATION

### 1. *The Nation*

Even if Štúr, during his studies in Germany, imbibed with avidity the congenital doctrines of Hegel, he assimilated them in his personal way and was forging practical applications according to the situation of the Slovak nation in Hungary.

Whereas "the spirit is the essence of all"<sup>10</sup> and his main task is selfknowledge and whereas, if we freely are interpreting Štúr's idea of multiplicity of nations, the manifoldness of the nations is the manifestation of the richness of the Spirit, the main task of every nation it to reach the selfconsciousness.

Without this selfconsciousness and selfknowledge the existence of a nation is a very precarious one, if not impossible according to Štúr. Like a man (human being) who did not reach the personality is a child as slave who does know nothing about it, as "the nations which did not reach the personality, which did not feel themselves, are like children under the command of a patriarch and slaves under landlord." <sup>11</sup>

Every nation "is a one whole, one individuality, one personality" and the highest obligation of very personality is to "become conscious, feel and know itself." <sup>12</sup>

This national individuality consists in the spiritual union of all the members<sup>13</sup> which can be felt "only on the basis of our nearest natural consanguinity." <sup>14</sup>

What does this personality consist in?

In the first place, the specificness of every nation is manifested by its language. "The language is the utterance of the spirit and in its turn is destined to influence the spirit." <sup>15</sup> "The language got its own life and the same course as the nations themselves." <sup>16</sup>

"When the language lost its original expressivity, force, determination and acuteness, so the force and acuteness of the nation itself had volatilized; got old the language, so got old the nation itself." <sup>17</sup> One with the other are in the strongest union, one with the other are living and dying.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the language, there are many other ties assuring the unity of the nation. Some of them are completely natural (as the territory) and or are natural—spiritual (among these on the first place is the language, afterwards customs, ways of life) and or completely spiritual (religion, political and civic order etc.).

The yearning after personality in an ethnical group is the most noble desire, because it is a desire of selffeeling and selfknowledge<sup>19</sup> and in the last consequences it is a desire of being useful to the humanity.

A nation which did not come to personality is unable to register anything of its own in the world among the

other nations, nor is able to represent anything in the history.

Notwithstanding that Štúr is emphasizing the importance of the feeling of personality for a nation, he asseverates that "the personality is not the highest degree and that when a man or nations want to live and actuate indeed humanly, they must rise to a higher degree, wherefore the personality must be ennobled and morally heightened."<sup>20</sup>

The spiritual personality of the nation, if it has to be a real and not imaginary one, must dispose of itself. This selfdisposition cannot be carried out, when a nation is united to another like an accident: the result of such an union can only be a weakness for both the partners. It is no life, but only a vegetation.<sup>21</sup>

"When a nation wants to live and has to live, it cannot and must not rely on another nation and from it wait for the awakening and maintenance of its life . . . Such a nation does not deserve to live."<sup>22</sup> Such a nation is like a log, "wherein there is no life."<sup>23</sup> The life of the nation consists in spiritual movement and activity.

Every true nation desires to rise to a higher life and wants its life to be registered in the life of mankind. It only is possible, when the nation is creating values of universal human validity which are contributing to the progress of humanity. In order that this be possible, these works of everlasting human validity have to bear the seal of the national authorship.<sup>24</sup>

All this is possible only, when the nation had reached the degree of selfconsciousness as a nation, "because the selfconscious nation is united by the spirit in the strongest way . . . and is respecting its existence and its honest staying among others."<sup>25</sup> The true union of the members of the nation is in the spirit only i.e. when present in the conscience of all. Such a nation is strong, even if a small one.

This "community-minded spirit"<sup>26</sup> is the essential force of every nation.

Štúr had to fight the family-minded spirit of the common Slovak people of that time with the purpose to

awaken them for a higher life of the national community. He and his disciples had done an admirable work on this field.<sup>27</sup>

And as usual, Štúr was analyzing the relation between the family and community life within the framework of the nation. He did not want to condemn the family life; he only wanted to exclude the exaggerate cult of family life: "The community life must not absorb the family life as well as the family life cannot exclude the community life."<sup>28</sup>

Of course, the first society to which the man belongs is family: to it he is united with body and sentiments. Thus, while the fundament of family is a natural one and its union is of natural origin, in the national community the union is of spiritual character. And as body is of lower nature than the spirit, so the family is lower than the national community. In consequence thereof the community is higher than the family. Even if this ratiocination is of undoubtedly Hegelian procedence, there is series of fundamental theoremas concerning the life of nations which are issuing from this admitted superiority of spirit.

First of all, no nation can lastingly remain on the niveau of the family life, because nation as nation got completely different the essential ties than the family; and also because the spirit can develop through the national community only which takes care of education and spiritual formation.<sup>29</sup>

That the public life of community is higher than that of family it is growing evident also from the fact that those who were sacrificing themselves for the community met with gratitude of the nation and everlasting glory: they merited this general esteem, because they were concerned about the higher goods of the nation.

"Beautiful is the love of Joseph for his brothers, captivating is the sacrifice of Antigona taking care of her father and accompanying him in his blindness on Kyteron; beautiful is the fidelity of Lucretia; beautiful is the love of Solon for his son, the care of Cornelia for her heroic sons, beautiful the care of Aeneas, beautiful the love of Andromeda, but incommensurably higher and more glorious are the deeds of Leonidas, Themistocles, Miltiades,



Mucius, Scipio, Zrinyi, Franklin, Menin, Pozarsky, Kosciuszko and many others.”<sup>30</sup>

If anybody would live for his family only, the nation would cease to exist.

Of course, there are many degrees of access of a community to the fulness of national life. At the beginning, all the nation being born are rude and brutal, because “they did not reach a spiritual culture.”<sup>31</sup> These “being born” nations are united by family ties only and they are living patriarchal order. There is a community life, but reduced to corporal necessities.

Later on, the community is creating spiritual values and thus is rising to the degree of nation. A community which did not create its spiritual culture disappears from the theatre of History: “The nations which did not rise to the community life, if met by a higher nation were succumbing to it.”<sup>32</sup>

The spiritual life of the nations “consists in all that the spirit is creating; that in it got its roots and origin”<sup>33</sup> i. e. religion, arts, sciences, doctrines, institutes, juridical order etc.

Through the creation of such values a nation is able to register its existence in the community of nations and obtain its identity card: “A nation which did not create anything noble for others, which did not register its life in the human community life, got no consideration before others.”<sup>34</sup>

The more flourishing is the community life and spiritual creativity of a national community, the stronger will be its position among the nations, because it is of one spirit and of one will. According to Štúr, such nations only appertain to History which consists in “continuous evolution.”<sup>35</sup> This last expression has to be understood in the terminology of Hegelian philosophy of History.<sup>36</sup>

“The improvement and heightening of the human life has been progressing through the nations which appertain to History,”<sup>37</sup> but never through the vegetation of tribes and barbarian nations.

If we are searching for a definition of nation in Štúr, we will be perhaps disappointed: "By nation has always been understood the community of men using from birth one language."<sup>38</sup>

This apparently poor definition has to be understood, however, from the viewpoint of the high function of language in the life of nations.

## *2. The Nation And The Language*

The very essence of the ethnical philosophy of Štúr has to be searched for in his doctrine of language as far as it is in relation with the life of nations in general.

We have already mentioned the role of language, when speaking of the personality of nation: the language is one of the fundamental reasons of its specificness, i.e. it identifies the nation.

This doctrine does not contradict the fact, that the English is a language common to England and the US, the Portuguese common to Portugal and Brazil, the Spanish common to Spain and many Latin American states. On the first place, all these new "nations" are nations in formation. In this process of formation they feel the necessity of a special language and this trend towards a specific language is being observed as in the United States (the trend to spell and pronounce differently the English) as in Brazil (the Brazilians speak of Brazilian as their mother tongue) as in the Latin American states (some of them are looking for native Indian languages in order to emphasize their "national" identity). Secondly, there exist a subconscious uncertainty and insecurity as far as the national identity is concerned, in all these zones, when comparing their identities with those of other nations recognized as such.

"When the nation comes to selfconsciousness, then it will comprehend that it got one life, one aim and so by natural and necessary course of the things this selfconsciousness must express itself in what it is uniting the nation together: one literary language, one literature belong essentially to the unity of nation."<sup>39</sup>

Thus the language is the instrument of the national unity: no nation (in the acception of a spiritual community and not the state; the state could have more languages) can have two literary languages.

From the other side, the language alone is unable to maintain the national unity:<sup>40</sup> "The nations got higher goods which they are yearning after . . . These higher goods belong to spiritual aspects. When the nation reaches this higher niveau of spiritual activity, then begins to consider its linguistic unity as secondary, even if always dear and beloved, because inherited from the forefathers, but un-decisive in all fundamental questions."<sup>41</sup>

In other words, when a nation reaches the stadium of high spiritual activity creating everlasting cultural values, the question of language ceases to be a primary one and is being collocated on the secondary niveau, because in this way the conscious spirit is assuring the unity of nation.

But before the language be able to become vehicle of high, spiritual activity, it is necessary to cultivate it i.e. provide it with terms able to express not only things, objects of daily use (the stadium of native vernacular languages), but also high ideas. "The language got the same course, the same evolution like man and nations. The child and the common man are speaking a very common language related to the objects of daily use known to all and in the same way common people who are either not at all or little civilized, but a cultivated man is speaking of higher subjects and his language is more abundant, more complicated and more polished; all the same is to be said of the language of a cultivated nation."<sup>42</sup>

This general principle is being confirmed every day in our times too: India is being overhauling the Hindostani in order to give it an efficiency as a modern cultivated language; the missionaries are struggling with the imperfections of the hundred and hundred native languages in order to convert them in vehicles capable to express high ideas putting down in this way the very foundations for a road to civilization of the different tribes.

But from all the functions a literary language may

get, the most important is its role in the instruction of the peoples. Štúr was assigning a primordial importance to the language on this field.

"Every nation can be cultivated through its own language only and is being cultivated, when its language is being cultivated"<sup>43</sup>: there is an interdependent action and mutual benefit as a result. In fact, the civilization of a nation is practically impossible, if its language is being postponed. The Guaranis of Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina, the Aymaras of Bolivia and Quechuas of Peru and Bolivia as nations were left on the same cultural niveau as they were living in the times of colonial occupation.

According to Štúr "the mother tongue is the mean of civilization of that nation that is speaking it."<sup>44</sup>

"If the instruction has to be a true, useful and adequate instruction it must be carried out in the national language i.e. in the mother tongue of the nation. Otherwise, the instruction got no value, is a mechanical work, without any benefit."<sup>45</sup>

"The instruction must exercise an influence not only on the mind but also on the heart; it must not be understood only, but also felt"<sup>46</sup> and we feel best the power of words and expressions in our mother tongue. "In this language all is clear and bright; in it the objects denoted by words are immediately present before our eyes, while in the foreign language all appears to us like behind a curtain of fog . . . For these reasons everybody will understand, why the nations being instructed in their schools in the mother tongue are progressing in instruction, knowledge and are occupying a honorable place among other nations, while the nations being instructed in their schools in foreign language are staying behind."<sup>47</sup>

There is another important reason, why the instruction has to be carried out in the mother tongue: "Through the mother tongue introduced into the schools the eyes of the nation are being opened; only then it is aware that it exists in the world too and through the mother tongue introduced into the public life, the nation is getting voice in the world."<sup>48</sup>

All these benefits had been denied to the nations in the middle age, when the Latin was used commonly in all the schools. The consequences thereof have been the obscuratism and barbarity, no undertaking and no public liberty. "In the middle age the world and schools were opposed to such a degree that whatever was appertaining to the schools did not concern the life and vice versa and this was a natural consequence of the separation of the schools from the life through a foreign language."<sup>49</sup> At that time the universities were like castles, where secret treasures were being hidden and whoever wanted to get to these treasures, he had to break through the dead Latin world.

By a similar bad luck are being stricken many small nations even in the modern times. In this occasion Štúr described the situation of the Irish nation, where the original Irish language is being ousted from the schools and the English is being imposed on its place; a similar destiny got the Flemish nation in Belgium and the Slovaks in Hungary. "We have to call it a disaster, when a nation is being instructed in foreign language, it is not possible to talk about the progress in knowledge and culture of such a nation. And without culture a nation is like mud being trampled under feet."<sup>50</sup>

By the repression of its language, the nation is being menaced in its very being. "A nation to whom had been imposed a foreign language even in its elementary schools got a sensible blow on its very life and spirit... and is condemned to blindness and obscurity... In such a nation there will flourish no culture, instead of it there will dwell obscurity; there will flourish no freedom, instead of it there will spread the spirit of servilism, there will flourish no wealth, instead of it unfold poverty and misery."<sup>51</sup>

"When a nation had fallen so deeply, it is the declaration of the last historical sentence over it and the accomplishment of its servility."<sup>52</sup>

In this connection, Štúr is mentioning again the situation of the Irish nation, where the imposition of the English in the public life were conducing to the paralization of the authentic national life. The introduction of the English into the public life in Wales and Scotland got



practically the same effect: the original national identity got a deadly blow and there is practically no probability that these two Celtic nationalities could revive their original national life. Not dissimilar grew the situation of the Basks in Spain and France: deprived of the possibility to make use of their many thousands years old language in their public life, they are decaying as a distinct nationality and are merging with the Spanish and French.

### *3. The Rights of The Nations According to Štúr<sup>53</sup>*

While individual rights have been object of different declarations and international instruments (Bill of Rights etc.), the rights of the nations neither have been enumerated nor sanctioned by international documents. All this is perfectly understandable, because the world policy has always been carried out by the big powers interested only in their power positions and very little or nothing at all in the rights of the small nations. This situation prevails even today. What can be said of the situation prevailing hundred or more years ago?

The big powers are able to assure their real and or pretended rights as today as they were doing in the past. They were and are enjoying them in full measure what cannot be said of the small nations, whose rights are being trampled under feet and denied. Only who is suffering injustice on his own flesh is able to understand the benefits of the right and justice and to yearn after them. Only nations which have been subjugated and denied their fundamental rights were able to forge the ideas about these rights amidst their sufferings.

If you examine the modern history of the Basks, Irish, Jews, Slovaks and other perfectly constituted nations whose the only defect was to be small ones, you will gather abundant evidences of their desire to see protected and realized their rights they are feeling to be entitled to.

More than hundred years ago, Štúr was expressing some of these fundamental rights of the nations. All these ideas are very important contribution to the creation of new international law which undoubtedly will take place in the next decades and conduce to the reorganization of mankind on the base of respect for all the nations, not

only the big ones, but also the small ones which are the majority and feel the thirst of justice.

After all we have said about the function of the mother tongue in the life of nation, it is not difficult to understand that Štúr was preaching the *right to language* as the most proper mark of every nationality: "Who is touching (the language) is touching the most proper possession."<sup>54</sup> If a nation is denied the right to its own language by its expulsion out of the public life and schools, it is getting a death blow to its very existence. The Bask language has been suppressed in France and Spain and nowadays the number of Basks is diminishing in such an allarming way that if they are not allowed to use their own language in their country, this respectable nation will disappear from the map of Europe. The actual society got associations for the protection of animals (dogs, cats and endangered species) and plants, but the United Nations Organization did not provide for the protection of the dying national communities and nations endangered in their life. Very soon the Bask language, the oldest European spoken language, will be a dead one, if the Basks do not get an international support for their legitimate struggle for independence. The Irish got a blow, when the English was introduced in Ireland instead of the Gaelic and many decades will pass over until the Gaelic will be again a spoken language in Ireland in spite of the Irish Republic and the desire of the authorities to reinstall it.

Of course, of all the rights the most fundamental is the *right to life*. Meanwhile in the old times, the conquerors were depriving the conquered nations of their material goods, in these times the conquest is aiming at the subjugation of the spirit i. e. the conquerors are threatening to take away the nationality itself; the last finality nowadays is the incorporation of the physical substance of conquered into the body of the conquering nation. Therefore Štúr requested that "nobody should interfere with our own district from national point of view."<sup>55</sup>

From the fact of existence rises the *right to personality* which is the extension of the right to life. When speaking of nation, we had quoted the ideas of Štúr relating to personality and its importance for the normal development

of the national community. Štúr was asking for "the recognition of the personality"<sup>56</sup> of the Slovaks with all the consequences issuing therefrom. In his meditations Štúr arrived to the expression of the "right to personality." When speaking of the tendency to suppress the life of a nation, he qualifies it as an injustice, because such a nation "is denied the right to be per se amid mankind i.e. to be a different personality."<sup>57</sup> It only is natural that every nation is striving for the recognition of its own personality among the other nations, because even if the personality may be not the highest value according to Štúr, it is a fundament for all its activity.

Štúr was proclaiming also the *right to territory*: "As a family needs its settlement as needs the nation its territory, where to live; its frontiers as far as its sovereignty extends itself, where to develop freely and to carry out its will."<sup>58</sup>

"The nation with its territory which is the field of its activity, is one owner of earth among other owners."<sup>59</sup>

"Whoever is taking hold of this ownership i.e. who is limiting the frontiers of its activity is offending the entire nation and provokes it to war."<sup>60</sup> Only weak and vile nations are permitting their frontiers to be narrowed.

This idea of the right to its own earth was a guide to the Jewish nation in diaspora since the time of their deportation to Babylon and after. The realization of this right in the form of "Eretz Ischrael" is completely understandable to anybody who thinks of the nations in philosophical terms.

This same idea was proclaimed by the Irish insurgents of 1916: "We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland... The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right..."

For this same right are fighting the rebellious Basks in Spain and France in these very days: the right to Euzkotarr.

For this right have been slaughtered one million of Ibos in Nigeria because they wanted to live in their own country, Biafra.

In connection with the language and its function in the life of the nation, Štúr uttered the *right to education and culture*.

The main object of all the activity of Štúr was the Slovak common people: after the desertion of the high and low (practically too) nobility, to the Slovaks were left the middle classes and common people only. Therefore he was directing all his endeavors to these masses with the purpose to provoke their national consciousness: "Our common people is the substantial part of our nation."<sup>61</sup> This people were "abandoned and neglected" and therefore "we stepped down and started to have intercourse with them in their own language... so that they may feel their dignity... and work on their own rising."<sup>62</sup> We should not forget that in Hungary until 1848 was prevailing the system of serfdom and there was practically no possibility of instruction for the common people. Štúr was aware that only through education of the masses the Slovak nation can be preserved from disparition. The consequences of the lack of instruction were disastrous indeed: penury, lack of the spirit of enterprise, total absence of welfare, lack of the sense for community. "An educated and instructed nation is in better spiritual and material situation than a nation without instruction... The more one is instructed, the higher dignity, respect, higher rights and better condition is he getting."<sup>63</sup> Without the education, there is no community life within the nation<sup>64</sup> and its spiritual life which the very essence of a nation is very deficient.<sup>65</sup> An instructed nation is a free nation and a nation composed of ignorant people is a slavish nation. The freedom of a nation is intimately linked to its education and high degree of culture: "an instructed and cultured nation cannot be held in the chains of slavery."<sup>66</sup>

So it is understandable that Štúr considered the right to education and instruction as high as the same right to life.

Not unlike was at that time the situation of the Irish nation. Štúr got into his hands at that time (AD 1847) a number of a Tipperary newspaper wherein the unknown author is requested that "the source of the Irish misfortune must be destroyed, removed and only then there will be

a hope that the people rise. The cause thereof is the humiliation and oppression of our Irish people which are being born in order to serve only. The oppression of our nationality since the times of the English expansion is the main cause of all the evil." <sup>67</sup>

Being similar the conditions in Ireland and Slovakia, similar were also the reactions of the leaders of the peoples. In Ireland Thomas Davis, "the educator of nationality", was preaching: "Educate that you may be free." "Selfhelp and reliance were his cardinal principles for national regeneration." <sup>68</sup>

Štúr was also insinuating the right of the nation to *selfdetermination* at a time, when this principle was not a common and general idea. He said: "No nation got the right... to not allow another nation to follow its own way, the way which is to it the most convenient." <sup>69</sup>

And in accordance with this principle he led his nation to an open rebellion against the Magyars and proclaimed the independence of Slovakia in 1848.

### 3. EPILOGUE

The short period of the intellectual activity of Štúr is full of ideas which have to say many things to this generation and to the future ones. His doctrine of the personality of the nations contains nucleus for the revision of the entire actual international law. If the nations exist as communities independently of the states and are subjects of the rights, thus the actual international law is an *interstatal* law only, the United Nations Organization is an Organization of the States etc. We are living in a world of confusion originated in the equivocal use of the term "nation" by the Latin and Anglosaxon nations. While, from one side, it is necessary only that an ex-colony, insignificant as may be (Barbados, Trinidad-Tobago etc.), get granted its independence and be recognized as such and immediately is getting the right to be "a nation," member of UNO, on the other side, the authentic nations i. e. spiritual communities with well formed personality and efficient cultural life like Basques in Spain, a pleiade of authentic nations in India, Slovaks in Central Europe are denied even the designation of nations and all the rights inherent to their condition of authentic nations. There is a danger

that the diplomacy is moving on a terrain either of *ignorantia elenchi* or moral perversity.

The Štúr's visions of *international* brotherhood and a humanity living for the fruits of the Spirit on the basis of a material welfare are distant from the reality yet.

#### FOOTNOTES

\*) By "ethnic" we understand "related to the life of nations," because the word "nation" got two different acceptions.

Ľudovít Štúr (1815-1856), the Slovak scholar, Philosopher and revolutionary who declared the independence of Slovakia in 1848.

- 1) The practical aspects of this activity see by J. Paučo, "The instruction of the People by the followers of Štúr" (Ľudovýchova u štúrovcov, Turč. Sv. Martin, 1943).
- 2) To the contrary, the Magyar language has been enriched by the Slovak words related to state administration, agriculture, construction etc.
- 3) Analogically in the modern times, India had to adopt the English as official language due to the existence of many ethnics in that country. There are many other cases in the contemporary world.
- 4) Ľ. Štúr, Dielo I, 314. In Bratislava appeared five volumes of his works in 1954. All the quotations of Štúr are taken from this edition.
- 5) Ib., I, 314.
- 6) Ib.
- 7) Ib., I, 168.
- 8) Ib., I, 170.
- 9) Ib., II, 15, 17.
- 10) Ib., V, 41.
- 11) Ib., V, 12.
- 12) Ib.
- 13) Ib.
- 14) Ib.
- 15) Ib., 15.
- 16) Ib.
- 17) Ib., 15, 16.
- 18) Ib., 16.
- 19) Ib., 13.
- 20) Ib., 13.
- 21) Ib.
- 22) Ib., 100.
- 23) Ib., 101.
- 24) Ib., 105, 106.
- 25) Ib., 40.
- 26) Ib., I, 230.
- 27) J. Paučo, o. c.
- 28) Ib., I, 127.
- 29) Ib., I, 115.



- 30) *Ib.*, I, 116.
- 31) *Ib.*, I, 114.
- 32) *Ib.*, I, 125.
- 33) *Ib.*, II, 177.
- 34) *Ib.*, I, 123.
- 35) *Ib.*, II, 182.
- 36) According to this doctrine, in the History always one nation is the leader of mankind.
- 37) *Ib.*, II, 188.
- 38) *Ib.*, I, 216.
- 39) *Ib.*, V, 134.
- 40) *Ib.*, I, 212.
- 41) *Ib.*, I, 212, 213. Cfr. *Ib.*, I, 215: "Even if the language is not the highest value of a nation, still it is the most important and decisive property as far as its personality and distinction is concerned, and from the fathers holy heritage which if somebody is touching, is touching the most proper possession, even if not the highest one."
- 42) *Ib.*, V, 17.
- 43) *Ib.*, I, 153.
- 44) *Ib.*
- 45) *Ib.*, I, 312.
- 46) *Ib.*, I, 313.
- 47) *Ib.*, I, 313, 314.
- 48) *Ib.*, I, 314.
- 49) *Ib.*
- 50) *Ib.*, I, 317.
- 51) *Ib.*, I, 318, 319.
- 52) *Ib.*, I, 319.
- 53) Š. Polakovič, *L'évolution des idées fondamentales de la politique slovaque*, Bratislava 1944; Š. Polakovič, *The Evolution of the Slovak National Philosophy*, delivered at the conference in Toronto 1971.
- 54) Štúr, o.c., I, 215.
- 55) *Ib.*, I, 221.
- 56) *Ib.*, I, 216.
- 57) Manuscript in the Archives of Matica Slovenská, Martin, Slovakia, No. 356a.
- 58) Štúr, o.c., I, 210.
- 59) *Ib.*
- 60) *Ib.*, I, 211.
- 61) *Ib.*, I, 49.
- 62) *Ib.*, I, 125.
- 63) *Ib.*, I, 154.
- 64) *Ib.*, I, 158.
- 65) *Ib.*, I, 124.
- 66) *Ib.*, I, 334.
- 67) *Ib.*, I, 315-6. We could not identify this Tipperary newspaper. The English quotation is not verbal, because we had to translate it from the Slovak.
- 68) Dr. Moody in his address to Trinity College, Dublin, on April 20, 1966.
- 69) Slovo na čase, II, 81.

## Fortieth Anniversary Canadian Slovak League

*Edward J. Behuncik*

(The following is the message of Edward J. Behuncik, President of the Slovak League of America, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Canadian Slovak League at the Marlborough Hotel, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, August 5, 1972.)

I assure you that the Slovak League of America, with which originally so many of you were officially associated as branch officers and members, is happy with your growth and successful development. Like every good Mother, we in the United States take maternal pride in your accomplishments. And because you are such a good offspring we are even happier.

We especially congratulate your wise founders whose foresight made this week's renewal activity possible. We remember in prayer and happy memory your departed leaders and officers.

In this same spirit, we congratulate you on reaching the 30th year of the successful and productive publication of your excellent weekly, *The Canadian Slovak*. I think its editorials rate among the finest writings I've come across in any of the many publications I see. It's top notch in any language.

You have, on your own, done great things for the Slovak cause because you've so greatly helped the Canadian Slovaks. When you help Slovaks in Canada, you help Slovaks in the United States and everywhere. So also, when we help Slovaks in the United States, then we help Slovaks in Canada and elsewhere.

And working together, we help all Slovaks and indirectly all peace-loving and God-fearing people everywhere. Thus, we make our efforts to sooner bring to reality the

cherished aspirations for the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God.

My appreciation has been quickened by the sense that your choice has been determined solely by your unending union—in word, in spirit and in fraternal co-operation—with the great Slovak civic and cultural federation, which I am fortunate to head at this moment of history.

I was pleased to note in the minutes of your first organizational session on December 12, 1932, that you pledged to support and co-operate with the Slovak League of America—the Minutes state:

“4. Vyvinula sa dlhá debata, v ktorej vedené bratom Karolom Marešom, zhromaždené delegátstvo uist'ovalo brata Jozefa Zemana, že program a ciele 1. kongresu Slov. Ligy v Kanade sú čisto slovenské, že spolu so Slov. Ligou V Amerike chceme pracovať za tú našu slovenčinu.”

I am happy to state that you've kept that commitment and am fully confident that you will continue to do so.

I, therefore, beg your indulgence while I set forth for your thoughtful consideration several ideas which I hold to be of paramount importance in the drama which the members of the Slovak League of America and you, the members of the Canadian Slovak League, are enacting through our daily and regular performance of the duties and privileges of membership in our respective leagues.

The dictionary tells us that “a patriot is one whose ruling is the love of his country,” and that patriotism is “love and zeal for one's country.”

We in the United States love our country just as much as you love Canada. But we, like you love and are proud of all that is great and noble in the history of the land of our forefathers—beautiful Slovakia. Otherwise, you would not this evening be in Winnipeg, your birthplace.

By taking pride, real lawful pride, in all things Slovak, we become better citizens and patriots of the countries where we live.

The flame of Slovak patriotism which had long burned and still burns with a steady flame in all times of stress

and danger, has enabled the nation to maintain the struggle for its rightful place of distinction as a separate member of the family of nations.

It has also sustained all Slovaks in their age-old efforts to carry out their destiny in the face of the most formidable opposition throughout the centuries and thereby, has exerted the admiration and often the envy of foreign observers. This record gives fresh proof even today of the invincible and unbroken vigor and vitality of the Slovak.

And meanwhile, it has promoted among the citizens of every land in which this Slovak patriotism has taken root a sense of public duty and the growth of a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to country, dominion or commonwealth.

But, patriotism must be founded on great principles and supported by great virtues. It involves duties as well as privileges, and these duties arise not only in connection with the domestic relations of the citizens to his native or adopted country. They arise also in all that concerns the attitude of that country towards foreign nations. That is why we must make certain that all countries become cognizant of the legitimate aspirations and aims of the Slovak people.

It is the clear duty of true patriotism everywhere to consider this question of the expansion and extension of the Slovak cause in which we seem to be fulfilling the manifest duty of our Slovak heritage.

So, you as good Canadians and as good Slovaks have a firm assurance of loyalty and affection of the sons of Slovakia in the United States and wherever else they may be. You are also assured of their readiness to play their part with you in the common cause even to a greater extent than in the past.

I have faith in our cause and in our Slovak people.

That is why I am happy to have the privilege to lead the Slovak League of America in what I pray will be its most glorious era.

That is why I am happy to solicit your continued co-operation in the days to come as we with you and other Slovak groups solidify and coordinate into a true pillar of Slovak unity and solidarity.

We now have the structure—The Slovak World Congress, founded in the headquarters site of the United Nations in June, 1970.

I believe that with all the forces and enthusiasm of which the democratic processes alone are capable, we, firmly united, will complete and maintain that splendid edifice of our fraternal and heartfelt love, which commenced under such successful auspices at New York and Toronto.

Henceforth, all Slovaks wherever situated enter upon a new epoch of noble union, in this world-wide Slovak Congress.

I also believe that the firmness of purpose and strength of will which are necessary to this end shall be supplied by the patriotism which sustains the most strenuous efforts and makes possible the greatest sacrifice.

You have the power and, I am confident, the will to fill this patriotic need—to contribute your patriotic share.

You still have in full measure the opportunity of continued service until you have achieved, at least, your 100th Anniversary.

All this time we can and will do because we are without fear. We are apprehensive, in these trying times, but we Slovaks have a solid, spiritual philosophy of life which will enable us to continue to face the future unafraid.

In that spirit, we conduct ourselves in fraternal harmony and cultural and civic friendship.

We have always presented throughout the years—you in Canada with us in the United States—the agreeable spectacle of a fraternal harmony and friendly co-operation absolutely united in the best interests of Slovaks and Slovakia.

We have differed occasionally, as friends and kin must differ; but, we never had a single quarrel, we have had no factional fights.

I think this displays a spirit for which it is worthwhile to continue to make sacrifices.

And then as we grow older and the shadows begin to lengthen, we hopefully should be able to look back on

this period as a happy and fruitful era. We can then, in good conscience, turn over the reins to our successors with the feeling of satisfaction that, to the best of our limited talents, we contributed our small share to the mosaic of a greater Slovak nation, culture, tradition and haven of religious and intellectual achievements.

And later, after much more time, when other future generations look back on this period—yours and mine—they will see that what we did was but to carry on the work of our great predecessors. When they do so, we hope they will be inspired to do a greater degree what we, on your Fortieth Anniversary, were and are trying to do for the greater honor and glory of our Heavenly Father—or as we would say in our Mother tongue *Za Boha a národ*.

Your gatherings are a living testimony of a determination to support the principles I have touched upon.

The voice of gratitude and praise for all your contributions is limited to no area—it is uttered by every Slovak tongue.

So, let us pray God that the day of triumph for Slovaks and Slovakia may soon come and while we pray and press on with unconquerable determination, let us make sure that we preserve the Slovak soul from the corroding influences of injustice, materialism and selfishness.

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I found the Democratic Convention to be totally undemocratic. At least two major candidates, who had considerable backing, withdrew from the race without a fight. This proves to me insincerity, dishonesty and cowardice on their part. After all, people contributed—and the candidates spent—millions of dollars for their election. This money now has gone “down the river” simply because these men did not want to fight against certain odds. I admire the candidates who remained in the race to the end, but I lost all confidence in the men who gave up so easily, even though Labor and other powerful political and social elements were behind them. This again proves to me that politics is NOT above the board, that there are underhanded deals, and that the wishes of the people are NOT considered. This is tragic, because it is the people that have been and are footing the bill. — *Fr. Louis P. Hohos*



## *Youth In Search Of Slovak Identity And Pride*

Along with other youths, Americans of Slovak descent are seeking their ethnic identity, their pride, and their self-respect. Identity and pride in particular, are words that are mentioned frequently by the college youth, still in search of its place in the world. Certainly, identity with a group that already possesses pride and self-respect enhances these same qualities in the individual who seeks them. But, in turn, self-respect and pride are normally achieved by an individual's own accomplishments, and his own personality, which he brings to the group he belongs to. A youth's identity with an ancestral group, particularly in America today, may be a bit difficult to obtain. This is due in part to the fact that in our mobile society, children of ethnic oriented parents have tended to lose their ethnic identity and to forget their valuable heritage in order to forge their way that much quicker in American life. By fusing into the melting pot as rapidly as possible, the meltable ethnics, and many Slovaks among them, have been lost into the mainstream of American life.

This melting away and fusion of the Slovaks with other ethnic groups occurred within the time span of only one generation. Slovaks are a particularly adaptable people. They have been very quick to assimilate to the melting pot and have scored phenomenal success in American life. They have become successful in sports, in the military services, in the professions, in politics, and in every phase of business. This success of the American Slovaks, and of their children, has fomented their personal pride and their self-respect. So successful has the assimilation of the American Slovaks been that many have all but forgotten their ancestral ethnic heritage. Yet, having acquired their pride through personal achievements in a world that was just a few short years ago a big and alien one to them, the families of American youths of Slovak ancestry are

now seeking their identity with their ancestral Slovak heritage. Though at some time in the past, identity with their ethnic group had been considered by some American youth to be a personal liability, today that identity with ethnic groups seems to be a necessity. The college youth feel this need more than any other in order to "discover their identity."

This is only natural, for when the ethnic groups reach a point where they are proud of their own accomplishments, then they begin to lose the sense of inferiority which had plagued them before. With a sense of new pride in their own accomplishments they can look back and consider how long a road they have traveled, since the time that their families left the Old World. This, looking back with pride, is, in a sense, the reason for the tourism to Slovakia of so many children and grandchildren of American Slovak immigrants. They are interested in looking up the Old World homestead, because it proves to them concretely how far they have come. They thus begin to discover their roots, their sense of beginning. It is pride that urges them to seek these roots. With confidence in themselves they can look with joy at the humble beginning that gave shelter to their ancestor's lives. The bank president from Ohio, the chancellor of a university in Pennsylvania, the air force colonel from Virginia, the professor of political science from New York, the dentist from California, the physician from Florida, the restaurant owner from New Jersey, and the countless successful workers in every state who have been able to raise fine families and maintain tidy homes with manicured lawns and neat gardens—all these, with pride seek their ethnic Slovak heritage. Pride in one's own accomplishments and a search of one's identity has instigated much of the American tourism to Slovensko—Slovakia. When one is no longer running from his past, from his ethnic group, he can indeed face his origins and contemplate them with pride.

Besides traveling to Slovakia, how else can the American youth of Slovak heritage find his identity and seek out his roots that give him a sense of belonging and security? Many Americans, including those of ethnic ancestry, have turned to antique collecting. In this way they try to identify with a past they have almost lost. But there

are other ways of finding one's sense of belonging and identity. First of all, for the Slovak ethnic group there are the great American public libraries like those of Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, to name just a few. These have extensive holdings in Slovak literature, magazines, newspapers, histories, etc. A visit to the public library will reveal to the youth of Slovak heritage a wealth of information to satisfy much of his curiosity about his ethnic ancestry, and it will give him added pride to see what the Slovak people have been able to produce culturally, despite enormous handicaps both in Europe and in the United States.

Besides the public libraries, there are the great American university libraries. Most of these also have fine collections of books and histories of and by Slovaks. All state and private colleges and universities, such as Ohio State, Western Reserve, New York, Texas, Kentucky, Harvard, Yale, Pittsburgh, Columbia (the list can be extended to over 2,000 colleges and universities all over the United States), all have some information on the Slovaks. A visit to university libraries will prove very rewarding for the identity seeker of Slovak heritage.

Periodical reading rooms in Cleveland, New York, Pittsburgh, etc., provide newspapers both from the heritage country as well as from the organizations of Slovaks here in the United States. Thus, all that one has to do to discover his heritage is to locate the nearest college or university in his region and ask any librarian to help him find material on Slovaks.

How else can pride be fostered in the Slovak ethnic heritage? This can be done by American journalists working on Slovak publications, such as the *Floridian Slovak*, the *Národné Noviny*, the *Jednota*, *Slovák v Amerike*, etc., as well as by various Slovak organizations and the Slovak Institute in Cleveland. The Slovak lodge papers, church papers, almanacs, and magazines can attempt to reflect better the present day life among the Slovaks in America, in their cultural organizations, meetings, playgrounds, picnics, cultural and church affairs. Much of the American youth of Slovak heritage is interested in the Slovakia of today, with its soccer teams, its bustling stores, and market

places, with its crowded schools, universities, theaters, museums, its teeming railroad stations, its rivers, parks, and national monuments. The Slovak youth is interested not only in the High Tatras, but in life in the cities themselves, where the people are, where they act and react with each other. The Slovak youth is interested in life not only on the Danube and the Tatras, but as it is lived in the cities like Bratislava, Košice, Banská Bystrica, Zvolen, Lučenec, Prešov, Rimavská Sobota, etc.

There are many things Americans with a Slovak heritage can be proud of, both in the United States and in Slovakia. The American journalists and cultural leaders can help the American youth of Slovak descent find its roots, its identity, pride and sense of belonging, which it so anxiously is trying to achieve.

*John Lihani, Ph.D.*

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**100th BIRTHDAY** Sunday, July 16, 1972, Andrew Bučko, from Pittsburgh, Pa., commemorated his 100th birthday. Mr. Bučko was born in Slovakia, Spiš County, on July 16, 1872. He came to this country as a young man in about 1890. Even though a teenager with no higher education, he saw the need of doing something for the bereaved, widowed and impoverished immigrants. Along with a few other thoughtful immigrants he founded St. Anthony's Beneficial Society whose program was to take care of families that had prematurely lost the breadwinner of the house. (In those days there was no Social Security, aid to widows, to orphans, etc.) This local society later on joined the First Catholic Slovak Union and became Branch 50 of the Jednota. This branch is still functioning. In 1903 Mr. Bučko became a co-founder of St. Matthew's Slovak Parish and was among the first to contribute and to lend money to the parish to buy the property on which St. Matthew's Church and Rectory stand to the present day. He is the only survivor of the "original" group of founders.

# A New Phase In The Socialist Economic Reform

V. J. Hurley

## I

Ever since the famous Liberman debate in 1962 on the reform of the Socialist planned economic system, several Socialist writers have voiced their opinions on the subject. Ideas proposed by Liberman for the Soviet Union were followed by similar ideas for the planned economic system in other European Communist countries. It was primarily O. Šik<sup>1</sup> and others in Czecho-Slovakia, W. Brus<sup>2</sup> and others in Poland, as well as others in each Communist country who were economic proponents of the new way of looking at economic planning proposed by Liberman.<sup>3</sup>

After a heated debate in the Soviet press, especially *Pravda*, for a general discussion and *Voprosy ekonomiki* for a more rigorous discussion, there were certain fluctuations in proposing the Liberman ideas in practice or rejecting them. A period of total stagnation set in when N. Khrushchev was replaced by Brezhnev and Kosygin. However, soon afterwards a further development of Liberman's ideas was evident in the Soviet press and elsewhere in the Communist countries.

The purpose of this paper is to present and briefly analyze the state of the debate of the economic reform in Czecho-Slovakia. It will be noted that after a brief period of "liberalization" in 1968, there followed a complete stop in the discussion of the subject. Latter have there appeared occasional suggestions that the topic is still alive and of paramount importance to the Socialist economic planners.

Andrej Lantay, the present director of the Economic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, has published what may be considered the important

restatement of the issues involved in the economic reform in the Socialist countries, especially Czecho-Slovakia.<sup>4</sup>

In his statement, Lantay proposes a new approach to the economic reform in Czecho-Slovakia. Before analyzing the major issues involved, he specifies certain basic criteria which must be observed when discussing the problem of Socialist economic planning. First, he maintains that it is the planned economic system and not price mechanism that is characteristic of any Socialist economy. Second, it is impossible to confuse Šik's model of Socialist economy with the actual purpose of the economic reform. Third, any debate on the economic reform must proceed from the premise that the Communist Party is the leading and actual moving force behind any economic measures proposed. Thus, the supremacy of the Communist Party has been reasserted.

## II

At present, the new phase in the development of Socialist economic reform entails a slow reevaluation of the various instruments of their economic system. After the setback of the reform in 1968, it is clear to the Socialist as well as western analysts that the reform must follow on wholly Socialist lines with a more or less centralized model as suggested by various writers in the past. The Lantay model differs from other models only by its distribution of areas of competent decision making between the central planning authority and the firm. The pre-Liberman models tended to stress the dominance of the central authorities in planning decisions. The post-Liberman models showed the necessity to decentralize the rigid economic system and give the firm enough responsibility to decide on what level the relevant actions were to be taken to achieve higher profitability or productivity of the firm. Most post-Liberman models considered giving a firm a dominant role in decision making. The Socialist and western literature is abundant on that score.

The Lantay model, on the other hand, is a slight departure from the two previous approaches to the problem of economic planning in the Socialist countries, especially in Czecho-Slovakia. Lantay proposes that decision making



in terms of planning should occur on the first level with an explicit collaboration with the central planning authority. Thus, there should exist a kind of sharing the authority of planning decisions between the individual firms and the center and possibly between some intermediate planning organizations. This model may be an improvement over the pre-Liberman centralized models, but it is doubtful that it will efficiently replace such decentralized models as the one of Šik. In general, the Lantay model may be considered as an intermediate model between the two extremes.

The Lantay model will have to face the same major problems of rigidity in economic planning in various areas.

First, in terms of organization, the firm will have to have enough competence to decide as to the microeconomic variables utilized in its production. If this competence is going to be acknowledged the firm may be free to choose some measuring stick of some kind of optimization. It does not have to be profitability maximization. However, in this respect the Lantay model will have to decide the old problem of what criteria it is going to use to measure profitability. So far the Lantay model does not suggest any solution to this problem. If the firm will obtain such competence as to decide on its own how to maximize some objective function, some positive results may follow from the Lantay model. Such decentralization of microeconomic decisions of the firm will leave the overall microeconomic decisions to the central planning authority. Then the central planning authority could be given an opportunity to follow the development of individual microeconomic plans as to the level of achievement. Only in this way, i. e. through the division of labor between the center and the firm, may it eliminate the unnecessary overlapping and contradictory decision processes. The details of this have not been specified by Lantay.

Second, on measuring the level of performance, the Lantay model will have to solve a problem of measuring the capital productivity and also the above mentioned profitability. In both cases the Socialist literature is negligent in coming to an adequate solution. Although the profitability indicator, one of several, has been recently

stressed, the actual performance of the firm showed that it was used only as one of many. As long as profitability is not used as the most important indicator, there are likely to be difficulties in the measurement of the efficiency of the firms. Such indicators as quality, assortment, etc., are a necessary part of statistical assessment of the firm's performance, but they should not be given dominance over profitability. A profitable firm is one which earns certain levels of profits, given the product of certain quality, size, shape, etc. Physical assessment of the performance of the firm is crude in some cases and impossible in others.

Profits under Socialism are a public property. This was maintained by Liberman and others. Therefore, the Lantay model cannot shy away from it as from the capitalist variable. In terms of investment spending, the same argument follows. To assess it, one should calculate it in terms of monetary values rather than in physical terms. Even if one has to select a less profitable investment project over a more profitable one, one should assess the difference between them. Thus, one should calculate how much value is being lost by choosing a less profitable investment project in order to be able to compare it with the social gain from making such a choice. Capital productivity in monetary values may prove a much more realistic way of measuring it and also much easier.

Third, one of the major problems in any previous models was the problem of factor mobility. The planning mechanism did not allow for factor mobility into their optimal uses by differential compensation. Rather, the planning authorities totally disregarded this process of allocation and have distributed the factors by the stress of certain emphasized industries such as heavy industries under pre-Liberman models. This brought about a tremendous amount of misallocation of resources with an accompanying suboptimal performances on micro- and macro-economic levels. It should be noted at this point that labor mobility exists and is also officially recognized by the central economic planning authorities in Czechoslovakia as well as in other Socialist countries. However, the actual movement of labor has been made very difficult by various restrictions, such as a workbook which has to be presented at the new location before one can obtain

a job there. Slackening the institutional restrictions on factor mobility usually brings about a movement of the factors of production into such industries in which their productivity is the highest. Thus, the most profitable firms will attract and be able to pay higher wages to interested labor and become even more profitable through higher productivity, eliminating some of the low productivity labor which would have to transfer into a less profitable firm. With total labor mobility, there would remain only most profitable firms in the industry, the marginal firms being eliminated. Although this is the basic mechanism in a free enterprise economic system, it is also inevitable in a Socialist system if some method of optimization is to be sought after.

The planning authority role in the mobility of factors of production would be to stay away and not to interfere. Given the free factor mobility, the planning authorities should observe the trends of labor mobility. If the trends observed are with the wishes of the planners, nothing should be done. However, if the labor moves into the most profitable uses and the planners wish to change the trend into the industries which are not so profitable but emphasized some criteria other than the profitability, the planning authority should be able to steer such movement with ease as it has all the necessary instruments of enforcement. What is proposed here is a working mechanism of the allocation of resources to their optimal uses within the planned economic framework. Of course, it is obvious that a free enterprise system which is supposed to be without too many imperfections is likely to solve this problem much faster and more efficiently than the planned economic system. However, this may not be so if the planners will devise such methods of allocation of resources which will outweigh the imperfections of the free enterprise systems. So far this has not been done, and if there is hope of it ever being done, it must be only a case in which the planning authority is a steering agency rather than a commanding one.

### III

Observing the present state of economic reform in any of the Communist countries, one may delineate what may

be called a new phase of development. This new phase could be briefly described within the planned economic framework as the moderate search for solutions to economic problems as outlined above. Thus, it may be clear by now to the Socialist as well as western analysts that the planned economic system is there to stay. The dominance of the Communist Party in economic decision making has been reasserted. The content of the new phase of economic development in Socialist countries would be the search for such instruments and mechanisms of economic activity which will affect the optimal allocation of resources within the planned economic framework.

Such a search has been started by A. Lantay, and his model shows signs of awareness of the above mentioned areas of difficulty.

In his study, he mentions the first major problem of economic planning. This is the problem of what role the planning authority should play in the Socialist economic process. It has been pointed out above that Lantay proposes a redistribution of competence between the center and the firms. This is expected to occur in such a way that the firms' interests will be supported by the interests of the central planning authority. Lantay further suggests that sufficient amounts of authority should be delegated to the firms to create an atmosphere in which the firms may be able to operate profitably.

This may be actually the strongest point in the Lantay model. In the past, the Socialist reformers had difficulty defending such views, but it seems that Lantay, who is proposing a kind of intermediate model, may have other supporters, as he does ultimately stress the point of re-emphasizing the centralized economic planning. This may seem a contradiction in itself. But it does not have to be; it all depends on the content of responsibility of the agents like the firms and the planning authorities at various levels. If, as Lantay suggests, the responsibility of the central planning authority will be to plan an overall economic activity and let the firms operate on their own initiative within the plan, then there should not be much conflict. This could resemble very loosely the concept of "économie dirigée" of France. Although the central planning authority

is not supposed to interfere with the performance of the firms, it always has an opportunity to check their activities should the need arise.

Further, Lantay proposes that the firms should be interested in the collaboration with the central planning authority by striving for higher productivity through innovations and eventually for higher profitability. This may be a new shape of economic reform as other indicators are lacking from Lantay's discussion. It may be remembered that there were other indicators that the planning authority has imposed on the firms as obligatory target figures. The Lantay presentation may be a departure from the older models as it stresses the achievement of productivity and profitability. Since this has also been a major area difficulty in the past, Lantay's version may be a move in the right direction. He does mention that one has to eliminate the mistakes of the past and supply goods of acceptable or prescribed quality. This is, however, assumed as given rather than to present it as a target.

If carried through properly, this may prove one of the most important improvements on all previous economic models without sacrificing any principles of economic planning. One simply maximizes Socialist profits within the planned economic system. It is a question of how the new planning organization will be carried out that will determine whether planning is going to be a supporting variable rather than a constraint. The planning as it was produced in the pre-Liberman models turned out to be a constraint to economic growth rather than a supporting variable. In the Lantay model, there are signs which may prove workable.

In a further discussion, Lantay proposes a new structure for wages and tax payments. However, it is only a suggestion without any specific elaboration of the problem. It has been mentioned above what problems are connected in this respect. If one were allowed a guess, Lantay may try to solve the problem of wages by allowing labor mobility and thus base the wage rates on productivity rather than planned figures. Furthermore, the supply and demand, which are not explicitly stated by Lantay, may take care of itself by the free mobility of labor. Lantay does

criticize the way in which the firms in the past used bribes to attract more qualified labor. This may show that by eliminating institutional and other restrictions there would be a great mobility of labor in Socialist economics if allowed.

In terms of the firm's production, Lantay suggests that one should modernize the present firms by the latest technology in order to increase productivity rather than to expand production by building new plants. Thus, it is a switch from an extensive to an intensive process of production. This kind of approach would be in line with the profit maximization proposal which also takes into consideration the technological aspect of the production function or "the state of arts". This also would be a departure from other Socialist models, as the Socialist producers usually shy away from modernization of their firms.

Paradoxical as it may appear at first sight, and subject to a misconception on this issue in the western literature, the Socialist manager has so far tried to avoid the modernization of his firm, although it has been done in many instances. The problem is this; it is true that modern machinery is more productive, and therefore it is expected to produce a larger physical output. This is a simple proposition and to mention it here amounts to a tautology. Because of the higher productivity, the Socialist planners are also interested in introducing the new technology into their firms.

The question is, then, why is it that the Socialist manager would not be interested in its introduction to his firm? The answer is this; although it is true that machinery of higher productivity may produce the larger output, the target figures for the manager will also be higher than before when the old machinery was used. This by itself would not create a great problem. If the productivity of a new machine is three times greater than that of the old, then the targets would become three times higher. But the problem starts when the Socialist manager starts to make physical adjustments to meet the increased production. First, it will need larger amounts of raw materials, more workers to handle the increased output; apart from



this, the output may increase to such a level that the manager will have to expand any activity that will be affected by such an increase. With larger volumes of production the supply of factors of production by other firms will also increase.

Here is the crux of the matter: with higher targets for the production of the firm and with inefficient supplies coming from other firms, the manager may have a more difficult time fulfilling the plan with the consequence of costly penalties imposed for underfulfillment. The Socialist manager, therefore, is better off in terms of fulfilling the plan when he is working with the old and less efficient machinery. If the process of planning and carrying through the set targets for all firms concerned were improved upon, the Socialist manager could be interested in modernization of the firm. Until then, however, he will be satisfied with lower output that is achieved more safely.

It is especially in this context that the proposition of Lantay should be considered. The situation in Slovakia and Bohemia may be better in this respect than in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, but it is still a matter of future planning rather than the present situation that will allow the "starved for capital" managers to be seriously interested in modernization of their firms. However, if the Lantay model will be carried out as proposed and a situation created in which the managers will be able to maximize profits rather than a host of other indicators and all firms perform efficiently, there may be an interest for modernization on the part of the Socialist managers. It could prove to have a cumulative effect on the various variables which support a higher economic growth. But this is to be seen in the future.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) Šik, Ota, *K problematice socialistických zboží vztahů*, Prague 1965.
- 2) Brus, W., *Modely socialistického hospodářství*, Prague 1964.
- 3) Liberman, E. G., *Planirovanie proizvodstva i normativy dlitel'nogo deystviya*, in *Voprosy ekonomiki*, 1962, No. 8; Liberman also wrote a book in 1950 called *Plan, pribyl i premiya* but it is very seldom quoted in connection with the famous debate.
- 4) Lantay, A., *Uvážene a trpezivo rozvíjat' ekonomickú reformu*, in *Pravda* (Bratislava), October 19, 21, 22, and 23, 1970.

## *The Renaissance of the Slovak American Literature*

### *I*

The Americans of Slovak origin coming to the free shores of this country centuries ago and did not stop coming until the present day, have shown a tremendous energy and efficiency in bettering their material welfare. They worked, earned incomes, spent it, and enjoyed all the material affluence that the country offered them. Out of meager beginnings they have created considerable wealth by buying houses, establishing businesses, banks and fraternal organizations. On the spiritual level they were quite successful in building numerous churches, schools, and publishing an unprecedented number of newspapers and periodicals.

In terms of serious literary endeavors, there were several authors who wrote novels, travelogues, short stories and especially poetry. Among the most recent ones, it was the late Msgr. Miloš Mlynarovič. If we don't include such prominent newcomers as Mikuláš Šprinc, Karol Strmeň, Karol Sidor, Jozef C. Hronský and others, some of them living in America and others only publishing, it would be wrong. I refer here to the exquisite edition of books by the Slovak Defense Press in the fifties. Among the translators of Slovak poetry were Ivan Kramoriš and Jaroslav Vajda (*The Bloody Sonnets of Hviezdoslav*).

### *II*

There is a new literary star on the horizon of the Slovak American heaven of arts and letters. In Danville, Pennsylvania is located a beautiful Slovak academy of St. Cyril with the adjacent mother house of the Slovak Sisters. Among them lives Sister M. Martina Tybor who is currently engaged in cataloguing Slovakiana at Jankola Library and in teaching at the novitiate teacher-training institute at Villa Sacred Heart. Sister M. Martina is not only a diligent

bibliographer, but also an exquisite poet in English. Her poetry is mostly scattered in the issues of *Fialky* and other periodicals. Apart from that, she has translated several books and studies by Msgr. John Rekem and Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum, but you would hardly find any sign of this and other work mostly because of Sister M. Martina's modesty. The end result is that in our midst lives an unassuming literary personality who has outgrown any living American-Slovak writer without anyone realizing her presence and tremendous potential. A somewhat more careful attention to such seemingly unimportant matters would make us realize the extent of M. Martina's contribution to the American-Slovak letters.

Her most recent literary work entails two volumes of poetry by Rudolf Dilong translated into English.

The first one is *I Offer Bread and Salt*, published in an exquisite form by the Slovak Jesuits in Galt, Ontario. It has been translated by M. Martina Tybor.

The translation is a very good one, not only because of difficulty to translate Dilong, but also because of the inherent difficulty to translate into English from any language. The rhyme, rhythm, the sound, and other attributes of the language are so different from Slovak that it takes extraordinary skill to master this task. M. Martina Tybor has lived up to this task.

The Marshall McLuhanistic style of Dilong which follows like this:

V horách je dost' vidno, i ked' sa hájníci uvzali proti svetlu  
a nepustia ho do húštin. (p. 17)

sounds in Tybor's language in the following way;

There is light enough in the mountains even though all the  
rangers had conspired against the light and outlawed it from  
the thickets. (p. 16)

Although Dilong's two lines are without rhyme, they show a clear example of a symbolic presentation of his ideas. The only difference between Dilong and McLuhan is that while McLuhan shows the negative side of the world and tends to see its coming destruction, Dilong shows the helplessness of the world and at the same time

gives the hopeful answer to the seering problems of our generation. The following two lines

Jestvovali už veľkí ľudia, praľudia a ich katastrofy. A naše prahory ostali po ich civilizáciách. (p. 23)

which in Tybor's words sounds as follows:

There have been great people—ancients and their catastrophic demise. And our hoary hills survived their civilization. (p. 22)  
are an example of Dilong's and Tybor's solution.

The present day major dilemma of the human search for integrity is symbolized by Dilong's statement

Na kamenný oltár nalial Eliáš vody a prosil Boha, aby oheň z neba spálil oltár pred tvárou pohanov, aby sa mu uverilo. (p. 31)  
and in Tybor's language;

Elias poured water upon the stone altar and begged God to let fire from heaven consume the sacrifice in the presence of the pagans so that he would be believed. (p. 30)

In fact, this book is full of such philosophical statements and it does belong to the most mature and well thought out poetry of Dilong. Dilong has been considered as an important Slovak surrealist, but this book of poetry surpasses the national limitations and should be considered a major contribution to the state of poetic arts in general. It is unique in its kind in the United States. As a man of spiritual endeavors, Dilong is most qualified to say about love the following lines:

Láska sa vie udržať i na malom priestore. Láska nehl'adá nikdy veľké miesto pre seba, ale veľký pokoj. (p. 33)

When M. Martina Tybor puts it in succinct lines;

Love can support itself even in little space. Love never seeks a great place for itself, just deep tranquillity. (p. 32)

it shows not only a great mastery on the part of Tybor's style, but it also shows a kinship to the spiritual world of Dilong. In fact, verses like these make the English translation equivalent in value to the Slovak original.

The poet Dilong is an exile in several senses. He is an exile from his native Slovakia. As such, he knows the hardships of assimilation to the new life on this continent. In the second sense, he is an exile in terms of his religious order, which in a certain sense distinguishes him from the rest of the world. And thirdly, he is an exile of thought, only a select few understanding him and his plight for a more human world. All this pain and sorrow is con-

centrated in one man alone and he expresses his alpha and omega as an axile in a brief and succinct statement which could not be imitated even by such genial minds as that of Strmeň and Šprinc. The lines in Slovak:

Pri ceste t'a čaká medzník, ako tvoj domov. Batoň vzdychov  
k nemu prinesieš. (p. 45)

and in M. Martina Tybor's translation:

There is a landmark at the roadside, awaiting your coming  
as surely as your home does. Here you will set down your pack  
of sights. (p. 44)

The tremendous sensitivity of Dilong appears through all of his poetry in which he portrays his fellow travelers through this world of rushing to nowhere in which the misunderstanding of individual human beings is the order of the day. He very humbly says:

Ó, Bože, buď pri človeku, čo ide s kyjakom k nám, lebo sme  
veľmi citliví. Pomaly ide, ale isto. (p. 47)

and M. Tybor understandingly and compassionately shows the exact meaning when she reflects his ideas in her own poetic language:

O God, be with the man who comes at us with a cudgel, for  
we are very sensitive. Slowly he come but surely. (p. 46)

Dilong's vision of the human soul, in which there is a combination of our life here on earth with a special view of the eternal life into which all of us are supposed to tend to aspire is expressed again in simple phrase coached in metaphysical symbolism like the following:

Stál som pri potoku a videl som na jeho dne nebo. Ale do neba  
tu vstúpiť nemožno. (p. 57)

and in M. Tybor's words:

I stood at the brookside and saw heaven in the depth of its  
bed. But it is not possible to enter heaven here.

One could follow through the whole book and show the tremendous power of vision of the poet as well as the translator. The symbolism of the Slovak verses of Dilong are excellently matched by equal value of M. Tybor's translations. Thus, two great minds have complimented each other in original production as well as creation in the translation. It is in this sense that M. Tybor's translation should be considered very creative.

The two great minds show their potential in the second

volume of poetry by R. Dilong, also translated by M. Tybor, *With Christ in His Passion*. Here we find the creed of our poet of his whole life as a priest and poet of the highest of gifts when he humbly offers himself to his Lord God whose servant he has been all his life. M. Tybor, also a servant and follower of the works of the Lord has understood the poet's dedication and translates him in clear and simple language:

Christ, I fall to my knees  
in the hour of your death.  
Look,  
my sin-bound sleep  
bordered on smug tranquility  
and all too long it did not change  
to tears following upon a bad dream.  
Out of my heart I tell you this:  
the cracked amphora will be removed  
and where the flowers had been steeped  
you will fill the air of the room with a tumbler of water  
that you will offer me;  
I, too, am your flower. (p. 7)

The whole book is an excellent material for religious meditation in the time of Passion. The author has poured out his whole heart to the Lord in such a way that it could be any of us kneeling in front of the crucifix and telling the Lord of all our grief and sorrow. Of course, we could not say it with the angel's tongue like R. Dilong and M. Tybor. The most difficult of thoughts and plights are expressed here in a language both original Slovak and the English translation, that it looks almost like it is beautiful to suffer. In its metaphysical sense, it is exactly what Dilong and Tybor are trying to tell us. This book, unlike the other should be read by people who have been exposed to some religious meditation, or at least understanding the meaning of Christ's Passion. It is not going to be readily understood by the atheists of our time. On the other hand, the other book is a must for every person who considers himself intelligent enough to be able to read in depth the meaning of the problems of our times.



## III

The two books of R. Dilong in an excellent translation of M. Tybor are sufficient to show that we are presented here with ideas of extraordinary dimensions unprecedented in the Slovak American cultural life. Two exquisite minds have presented us with an excellent feat for our spiritual well-being. Every American of Slovak descent should not miss reading these works. In fact they should be read by others who are interested in the present day spiritual problems of this country. However, it is one thing what one should do and another what one will actually do. If one should judge by the trends in such matters in the past, the translations will be forgotten next year and there will be no more creative work coming from either Dilong or Tybor. Of course, knowing both of them will prove that they are not easily discouraged. And rightly so. They may expect that after they are both long dead, the younger generation of Americans of Slovak descent, coming fresh from their colleges, will ask their parents for the literary works of their ancestors. Some of them may not even know about such trivial matters but the young generation will find themselves. At that time, poets like Dilong and Tybor will get full appreciation. But of course, this does not have to happen this way.

There are other Slovak intellectuals who came to these shores and who proved to be prominent writers. For instance, M. Šprinc's book, *To the Free Shores of America*, is a classic. It would be good to do a research and find out how many honors were bestowed on Šprinc because of this book. (He wrote others which can be considered classic, especially his essays, *Letters from Coral*). And Strmeň, the contemporary Dante in Slovak poetry; he received his Academic Palms from the French government for his outstanding contribution to the state of poetic arts. This honor should be considered as next in importance to the Nobel Prize.

P. O'Reilly

# *Cultural Revival of American And Canadian Slovaks*

*Jozef Paučo, Ph.D.*

## *I.*

During the past ten years, American and Canadian Slovaks are living a cultural revival. There are many instances to indicate this. Above all, they received support from many intellectuals who emigrated from Slovakia after the second world war. A firm collaboration was created in the cultural field, primarily through the Slovak League of America, the Canadian Slovak League, and the Slovak Institute in Cleveland-Rome. The 1100 centennial of the arrival of SS. Cyril and Methodius to Slovakia, which was celebrated auspiciously by the free Slovaks, inspired many scientific and cultural workers and awakened an interest in the past and present culture among a great number. Finally, a wave of national and cultural rebirth swept over American soil, in all aspects.

During the first years of revival, preparation was quite slow, but since 1960 there was a complete flourishing in practically all educational and scientific disciplines. When at first an attempt was made to discuss cultural revival it was doubtful as to its success. The results were amazing because the third and fourth generation of American Slovaks did not yet sink in the sea of anonymity. This appears from the fact that American and Canadian Slovaks not only read but are active in Slovak life and activities.

Scholarships are available sponsored by practically every Slovak organization in America. It is not extraordinary for students to receive awards for outstanding work. If a student seeks for ethnical news where scholarships are published, it is a sign of his Slovak interest. Of course all applicants must belong to the organization concerned. Amidst approximately 450,000 organized American Slovaks nearly 1/3 belong to a youth branch.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

Slovak cultural educators published and sold a great number of books about Slovakia and its people and that not only in Slovak but also in English and to a certain extent French. Two goals were aimed at: 1) to bring Slovakia to the youngest Americans of Slovak extraction; 2) to inform the non-Slovak public with objective information which was, until recently, rare, because only those spoke and wrote about Slovaks, who through various reasons were not favorable towards and did not recognize the Slovaks as a nation. In this respect it must be admitted that Slovak knowledge and publicity took a step forward.

## HISTORICAL WORKS

Several noteworthy volumes dealing with the history of the Slovak nation, incidently the American and Canadian Slovaks, were published. Professor Gilbert L. Oddo is the author of the first complete English history of the Slovak people in which he partially despicts the history of American Slovaks.<sup>2</sup> The work was published in three editions and is still in demand by Slovak as well as American educators.

Professor Jozef M. Kirschbaum published a remarkable book<sup>3</sup> in which he portrays important incidents of the Slovak people. Professor Jozef A. Mikuš devoted his well documented treatise to the events from 1918 to 1950.<sup>4</sup> Professor František Vnuk wrote a detailed account of the evolvement of Slovakia from autonomy to independent statehood.<sup>5</sup>

These works form the basic orientation of Slovak history. The supplement in *Slovak Studies, Slovakia*, and *Jednota Annual Furdek*,<sup>6</sup> provides the reader with a great deal of material, which in America concentrates and objectively casts light on Slovakian past. The history of American and Canadian Slovaks is grasped as well. The complete history in English is found in Canada. It was written on the basis of a dissertation and strictly according to scientific form by Professor Jozef M. Kirschbaum.<sup>7</sup> Canada and ethnic critics accepted this work with highest honors.

The First Catholic Slovak Union published a detailed history about its organization.<sup>8</sup> Even though it concerns the history of one organization, this book contains such material touching upon all phases of American Slovaks in-as-much as the First Catholic Slovak Union played an exceptionally significant role in their lives.

A history of the Slovak League of America was published in English.<sup>9</sup> To this work we must add a meaningful chapter about the Pittsburgh Pact written by Peter P. Hletko.<sup>10</sup> Both publications offer the students of American Slovak life adequate research material for the study of attitudes towards Slovakia. Practically every American Slovak organization has a chronicle review in its calendars or memoirs. Even the American Slovak parishes brief chronicles or histories of their parishes, at first in Slovak, later bi-lingual, and finally just English. In the United States and later in Canada, Slovak religious orders played and are playing an important role. The history of all the Slovak religious orders was compiled by Professor Francis Hrušovský.<sup>11</sup> The accomplishment was of high quality and well documented. The congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius which began in America in 1909 has its own history;<sup>12</sup> so do the Slovak Franciscan Fathers.<sup>13</sup> Both works were written by members of the respective religious orders.

In addition, it is well to mention a myriad of books or periodicals containing biographies of leading American Slovaks particularly of pioneer days. The greater number were printed in Slovak.<sup>14</sup>

These and other works as well as those of the Slovak Institute and other cultural Slovak-American Institutes developed an interest in students of Slovak origin, about the past of the Slovak nation, its culture and politics. Upon this basis many academic thesis developed. The author of this article receives at least five inquiries annually for suggestions of topics regarding Slovak life. The Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius wrote more than twenty thesis many of which undergo severe departmental criticism.<sup>15</sup>

Particular emphasis is placed upon the historical era of SS. Cyril and Methodius. To attain this goal *Slovak Studies* aided greatly by publishing many technical con-

tribution in one volume.<sup>16</sup> A well known historian of the Cyrilo-Methodian era, Michal Lacko, wrote the biography of the Apostles and the Slavonic nations, in general.<sup>17</sup> Sister M. Martina Tybor wrote the Junior and Senior edition of SS. Cyril and Methodius, who are the patrons of her congregation.<sup>18</sup> *Most* 1963 presented an expanded appraisal of the SS. Cyril and Methodius traditions among Slovaks.

The history of the persecution of the church under communism was very well written by Father Teodorik J. Zúbek, O.F.M. in a documentary volume and other opportune studies.<sup>19</sup> Sister Cecilia revealed the unbearable conditions, as she beheld and lived through them under the Communist regime.<sup>20</sup> Further attempts were made to enlighten this tragic period of the church, hierarchy, priesthood, religious orders, and the people of God.<sup>21</sup>

In western Europe and South America free Slovaks published books in other languages, principally German, French, Italian and Spanish in which they dealt with the Slovak tragedy after 1945 as well as specific problems which painfully were incorporated in the history of the Slovak nation. In this regard the most valuable works were edited by Bishop Paul Hnilica, Msgr. Štefan Náhalka, Msgr. Jozef Tomko, Rev. Stanislav Ďurica and Rev. Michal Lacko in Italy; Rev. Vojtech Bucko, Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský and Krištof Greiner in West Germany; P. G. Dobiš in Austria; Dr. Arvéd Grébert in Switzerland; Dr. Štefan Glejdura in Spain; Dr. Stanislav Mečiar, Dr. Ernest Žatko and Alojz Macek in Argentina.<sup>22</sup>

## LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

While the history of the Slovak nation and American-Canadian Slovaks have a sufficient representation in English, the history of Slovak Literature and language awaits further elaboration. Basic studies emanated in single, particularly cited annuals or individual articles. Most attention to those themes was devoted by Professor Jozef M. Kirschbaum, Msgr. Ján Rekem, and professor František Vnuk. While Dr. Kirschbaum and Dr. Rekem occupied themselves with individual periods of Slovak literature and development of the language of the past, Vnuk concentrated upon strengthening Slovak literature.<sup>23</sup>

Language studies of a practical nature are properly represented. Modern textbooks in Slovak language were compiled by Mother M. Emerencia, SS.C.M., S. E. Buc, Filip A. Hrobák and Konuš.<sup>24</sup> Among the best dictionaries are those of Hrobák and Konuš.<sup>25</sup>

### NEWSPAPERS AND ALMANACS

Editors and co-workers of American and Canadian Slovak newspapers in Slovak and in the past few years in English are returning to the problem concerned with preservation of national consciousness, cultural, ethnical awareness, enlightening the public with various phases of Slovak life. Representative voices of the third generation of Slovaks in the news methods and articles are not lacking. Emphasis, however, is placed upon the preservation of Slovak cultural inheritance. In this regard the *Jednota*, *Katolícky Sokol*, *Národné Noviny*, *Živena* and *Kanadský Slovák* are performing a great work in the English language. The technical and representative review *Most*, *Literárny Almanach*, *Slovák v Amerike*, and other newspapers are returning to the all-Slovak problems exclusively in the Slovak language.<sup>26</sup>

*Literárny Almanach*, *Slovák v Amerike* and *Slovak Studies* published an outlook upon the events of the cultural activities of Slovak writers, leaders, poets, artists, and news editors. The reports are not complete, but they are sufficient evidence to assure the unprejudiced reader that in the revival of Slovak cultural life in America are intellectuals who do not want to stifle the development of Americanization, but they do not want to speed it up. They strive to evolve in this field as much as other ethnic groups. It is not coincidental that in the preparation of ethnic cultural centers, American Slovaks wish to enkindle appropriate roles equal to their number and missions.<sup>27</sup>

In the United States and Canada, after the Second Vatican Council, Slovak liturgy is heard in practically every Slovak Roman Catholic parish. Even in churches of Lutheran denomination, the liturgy is Slovak. As we shall see in next chapter the sale of prayer books in the Slovak language is widespread.

At Slovak picnics, which are held by the hundreds,



every summer, in the United States and Canada, Slovak music and songs are heard. In like manner, these are heard at weddings, even to the third and fourth generation. Slovak songs and music binds and deepens Slovak consciousness more than anything else. Slovak records are being made in practically every city where Slovaks live and at least one musician versed in Slovak folk songs and dances is found.

In the past few years professional Slovak singing and dance groups were organized. The leading ones are in Toronto and Montreal, followed by Detroit, Chicago, and New York.

At conventions of American-Slovak and Canadian-Slovak organizations the Slovak language is still used, even though less than the English. Official reports and minutes are written bi-lingually in spite of the fact that the pioneer generation of Slovak immigrants, especially in America, has no representation at the conventions.

### III

Another indication of cultural awakening among American and Canadian Slovaks is the sale of books. During the past five years, 113,755 Slovak books and 450,000 pamphlets were sold in North America. This number includes 61,215 scientific, popular science, and novels; 65,000 pamphlets; 52,540 religious books and 385,000 religious pamphlets. The number of English books about the Slovaks 31,248; Slovak-English and English-Slovak dictionaries and textbooks sold amounted to 14,195.

Altogether during the past five years 159,198 books in English or Slovak about Slovaks were sold, in addition to 450,000 pamphlets.

The greatest number of books were sold by the First Catholic Slovak Union: 49,008. The greatest number of religious books, 32,000, were sold by the Slovak Franciscan Fathers.

Books were sold by the Slovak Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Slovak Jesuit Fathers, Sisters of St. Dominic (Oxford, Mich.), Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, and

other smaller publishers, namely *Slovák v Amerike*, *Slovenská Obrana*, Rev. František Fuga and others.<sup>28</sup>

During the past five years 5,200 maps of Slovakia<sup>29</sup> were sold and 45,400 Slovak records were distributed.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV

It is difficult to estimate how many Slovaks live in America and what per cent of American inhabitants consist of Slovak immigrants and their descendants. It is generally admitted that the people of ethnic groups number not less than 30,000,000.

How many Americans are of Slovak ancestry?

The statistics of the Slovak Academy of Science in Bratislava report that up to 1921 when mass emigration ceased, 867,720 Slovaks emigrated to America.<sup>31</sup> It is true that some of these returned to their homeland. However, approximately 500,000 remained in America. Today there are three generations of Slovak origin in the United States. If we calculated that each family has at least four children, then emphasising that three million Slovaks live in America is a conservative number.

The question is, to what extent do these American citizens of Slovak ancestry feel their Slovak heritage. We can judge this through the aid of organizations and newspapers. Slovak-American organizations have more than 450,000 members; newspapers around 150,000 subscribers. This does not include various parish societies and clubs of all sects. There are over 400 Slovak parishes. All organized American-Slovaks with their families create at least 2,000,000 citizens who can be included to a greater or lesser extent as conscious Slovaks.

There are about 70,000 Slovaks in Canada.<sup>32</sup> Since practically all Slovak emigrees came to Canada after the first world war, we do not exaggerate when we emphasize that the Slovak spirit lives on not only in the first but also in the second and third generation of Canadian Slovaks.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) *Slovakia*, Middletown, Pa.: Slovak League of America, XX, No. 43, pp. 105-121; XXI, No. 44, pp. 109-144.

- 2) Gilbert L. Oddo, *Slovakia and Its People*, New York: Robert Speller and Sons, 1960.
- 3) J. M. Kirschbaum, *Slovakia: Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe*, New York: Robert Speller and Sons, 1960.
- 4) Joseph A. Mikus, *Slovakia—A Political History*, Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 1964. The same work is in French: *La Slovaquie dans le drame de L'Europe*, Paris: Les Iles d'or, 1955.
- 5) F. Vnuk, *Slovakia's Six Eventful Months (October 1938-March 1939)*. Rome: Slovak Institute, Cleveland-Rome, 1964. He devoted much attention to Communistic politics. The following work is very important: *Historical Outline of the Communist Party of Slovakia*, Middletown, Pa.: Slovák v Amerike, 1968. Another important work is that of František Vnuk, *Neuveriteľné sprisahanie: vojenské a politické akcie proti Slovenskej republike v roku 1944* (English resume), Middletown, Pa.: Slovák v Amerike, 1964.
- 6) *Slovak Studies*, Rome, Italy: Slovak Institute, Cleveland-Rome, 1961-1967, VII Volumes. *Slovakia*, Middletown, Pa.: Slovak League of America, 1951-1971, XXI Volumes. *Jednota Annual Furdek*, Middletown, Pa.: First Catholic Slovak Union, 1962-1971, X Vol.
- 7) J. M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, Toronto, Canada: Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Ontario, Toronto, Canada, 1967.
- 8) Jozef Paučo, Ph.D., *75 rokov Prvej Katolíckej Slovenskej Jednoty*, Cleveland, Ohio: First Catholic Slovak Union, 1965.
- 9) Joseph Paučo, Ph.D., (Ed.) *60 Years of the Slovak League of America*, Middletown, Pa.: Slovak League of America, 1967.
- 10) Peter P. Hletko, M.D., *The Slovaks and the Pittsburgh Pact*, Slovakia, XVIII, No. 41, pp. 5-54.
- 11) František Hrušovský, Ph.D., *Slovenské rehole v Amerike*, Cleveland, Ohio: Slovak Institute at the abbey of St. Andrew-Svorad, 1955.
- 12) Mother M. Emerentia Petrasek, *Brief History of the Congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius*, Danville, Pa., 1959.
- 13) Richard Portasik, O.F.M., *Slovak Franciscans in America*, History of the Most Holy Savior Commissariate, 1926-1966, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Franciscan Fathers, 1966.
- 14) Here are for instance: Jozef Paučo, *Štefan Furdek a slovenské prísľahovalectvo*, Middletown, Pa., Jednota, 1955. Jozef Paučo, *Matúš Jankola, kňaz a národovec*, Danville, Pa., Congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, 1959. A host of other contributions by the same author about the Slovak pioneers in America in the newspaper JEDNOTA, Middletown, Pa., The annual Furdek contributed English articles about the Slovak peoples in almost every edition.

- 15) The well known are: Sister M. Consuela Gregorovich, *Contribution of Rev. Matthew Jankola to Slovak Education in the United States*, 1944. Sister M. Delphine Opet, S.S.C.M., *Political Views of Ľudovít Štúr*, Slovakia, XXI, No. 44, pp. 20-78. S. E. Buc, *Slovak Nationalism*, Middletown, Pa.: Slovak League of America, 1960. M. G. Woytko, *Slovakia's Road to Statehood*, Whiting, Indiana, Lach Publications, 1956.
- 16) *Slovak Studies*, Vol. III, *Cyrlomethodiana*, Rome, Italy, 1963.
- 17) M. Lacko, *The Life of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, Rome: Slovak Institute, Cleveland-Rome, 1963. Second Edition, 1970.  
Here is an additionally important work: Smrzik, *The Glagolitic or Roman-Slavonic Liturgy*, Cleveland, Ohio: Slovak Institute, 1959.
- 18) Sister Martina Tybor, *Saints Cyril and Methodius*, Milwaukee, Wis., Bruce Publishing Co., Senior and Junior edition.
- 19) Theodor J. Zubek, O.F.M., S.T.D., *The Church of Silence in Slovakia*, Whiting, Indiana, Lach Publications, 1956.: *Slovak Bishops-Martyrs of Christ*, Toronto, Ontario, Canadian Slovak League, 1963.; *Slovak Clergy in History and Culture*, Middletown, Pa., First Catholic Slovak Union, 1970.
- 20) Sister Cecilia, *The Deliverance of Sister Cecilia*, New York, New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, First Printing, 1954.
- 21) For example: Jozef Paučo, *Unconquerables*, New York, Vantage Press, 1958.; *Christian Slovakia under Communism*, Valparaiso, Indiana, Slovak Catholic Federation of America, 1953.
- 22) More accurate facts in the *Literárny Almanach Slovák v Amerike*, "Predstavitelia slovenskej kultúrnej tvorby," 1967, pp. 113-252 and *Slovak Studies*, Vol. VII, Bibliography, Rome, Italy: Slovak Institute, Cleveland-Rome, 1967.
- 23) J. M. Kirschbaum, *Ľudovít Štúr and His Place in the Slavic World*, Cleveland, Ohio.: Slovak Institute, 1953.: *Pavel Jozef Šafárik and His Contribution to Slavic Studies*, Cleveland-Winnipeg, Slavistica No. 43, 1962. *Literature of the Cyrilo-Methodian Period and Slovakia*, Cleveland, Ohio.: Slovak Institute, 1964.; *Anton Bernolák, the First Codifier of the Slovak Language*, Winnipeg-Cleveland, Ohio: Slavistica No. 52, 1964. *Ján Kollár—Slovak Poet of Pan Slavism*, Winnipeg-Toronto: Slavistica No. LVI, 1966. J. Rekem, *The Origin and Development of the Slovak Language*, Middletown, Pa.: Jednota, 1962. *Slovak Literature and National Consciousness Before Anton Bernolák (1762-1813)*, Cleveland, Ohio, Slovak Institute, 1965. František Vnuk, *Sedemnást' neúrodných rokov* (excerpts from the history of Slovak literature, 1945-1962), Middletown, Pa.; Slovák v Amerike, English resume, 1965.
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- 25) *Hrobak's English-Slovak Dictionary*, Middletown, Pa., 1944. Second Printing, New York, N.Y.; Robert Speller and Sons, 1965. J. J. Konuš, *Slovensko-anglický slovník*, *Slovak-English Dictionary*, Federation of Slovak Catholics in America, 1930.; *Slovak-English Dictionary*, Passaic, N. J.: Slovak Catholic Sokol, 1970.
  - 26) *Jednota*, Middletown, Pa., Official Organ of the First Catholic Slovak Union. *Katolícky Sokol*, Passaic, N. J., Official Organ of the Slovak Catholic Sokol. *Národné Noviny*, Pittsburgh, Pa., Official Organ of the National Slovak Society. *Živena*, Pittsburgh, Pa., Official Organ of the Živena Beneficial Society. *Kanadský Slovák*, Toronto, Ont., Canada, Official Organ of the Canadian Slovak League. *Most*, Cleveland, Ohio. *Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike*, Middletown, Pa. *Slovák v Amerike*, Middletown, Pa. Details of Slovak newspapers in America are presented by Konštantín Čulen in: *Slovenské časopisy v Amerike*, Cleveland, Ohio: First Catholic Slovak Union, 1970.
  - 27) The Slovak League of America worked with American Slovaks within 31 states regarding the bill S23 sponsored by U. S. Senator Richard S. Schweiker (R.-Pa.).
  - 28) The author of this paper personally ascertained the number of books sold by various publishers.
  - 29) The map was printed by the Slovak Institute, Cleveland.
  - 30) Books, with the exception of dictionaries and textbooks, sent by the Communist regime in Slovakia are sold in very small numbers. However, the records made by the singing group SLUK are in great demand.
  - 31) J. M. Kirschbaum, *The Assimilation Process of American Slovaks*, Slovakia XII, No. 44, pp. 79-84.
  - 32) J. M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, p. 4.

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THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA represents an overwhelming majority of organized Americans of Slovak descent; actively affiliated with it are the largest Slovak fraternal, religious organizations, Slovak Clubs and Slovak civic organizations in the United States.

## *Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum*

### A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

It is next to impossible to condense into a short biographical essay a life of such many-sided activity, so rich in events and experiences as that of Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum. It can be said of him and many of his contemporaries that their lives epitomise the Slovak history of the past half century in both its triumphant and tragic aspects. But nowhere is this symbolism so obvious and so clearly reflected as in the work and achievements of Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum. All his adult life has been spent in a dedicated service of the Slovak cause which, in turn, has in him its most ardent and articulate advocate.

He was born on March 25th, 1913 in Dolné Vestenice, a well-known fruit-growing district of Central Slovakia. His father fought for the liberation of Slovakia in the Czecho-Slovak Legion during the First World War and returned from Siberia only in 1920. The years of fighting and deprivation sapped his health and he died in 1923 when the boy was ten years old.

As a student of great promise and intellectual ability young Jozef Kirschbaum was sent to continue his schooling at the Lyceum (High School) in Nitra. I may add that at that time it was unusual for a village boy to pursue higher studies since the course was quite costly and demanding. Straight from the beginning J. Kirschbaum was an outstanding student whether at the Nitra Lyceum (1923-25) or later at the famous Jesuit college "Stanislavov" in Ružomberok.

In the days of Kirschbaum's stay at Ružomberok the town had in the minds of most of the Slovak countryfolk the aura of a true capital city of Slovakia. Here resided as parish priest Fr. Andrej Hlinka, the leader of the Slovak People's Party and a fearless tribune of his people. Not even young students could escape the political atmosphere



and the powerful influence of Hlinka's dynamic personality. For a young idealistic Slovak man Hlinka's political aims in their forceful simplicity must have been an irresistible attraction. There is no doubt that there and then was planted the seed of his future political commitments and involvements.

After completion of his high school studies (at Košice in 1933) Jozef Kirschbaum enrolled in the Law Faculty of the Bratislava University. Here he found himself right from the start in the thick of feverish political activities. The University halls and colleges were recruiting grounds and battle arenas where the new generation of political leaders were testing their skills and sharpening their tools. Kirschbaum and his contemporaries represented the first generation which grew up and was educated in the post-war Slovakia and was not exposed to the humiliating experiences of magyarization. They were the proud products of their teachers and professors (largely the Czechs) but in one respect they were to disappoint their tutors. They boldly asserted their Slovak nationality and refused to accept the hints and insinuations that they should consider themselves as a new breed of "Czechoslovaks".

The youth of Slovakia (e. g. at their massive gathering at Trenčianske Teplice in summer of 1932) even more vigorously than their fathers claimed for the Slovak nation those rights and privileges which every free nation should enjoy and which the Slovaks were once promised but since denied. In particular they demanded a fair deal for themselves and their countrymen: that the country's economy would pass into Slovak hands; that the Slovaks would get a proportional number of jobs in the Army, in the State and Public Service; that the Slovak language would be recognized and respected as the official language in Slovakia, etc. In the forefront of this struggle was the Slovak People's Party and one of its most energetic detachments was the academic youth where J. Kirschbaum was soon to play a leading role.

His extensive involvement in politics—which inevitably had anti-Czech connotations—was frowned upon by his Czech professors and the University authorities who would not allow him to graduate even though he had fulfilled all the

academic requirements with great distinction. Eventually he was awarded his Doctor of Law degree at a private ceremony in the summer of 1938.

By this time Dr. J. Kirschbaum was already a well-known public figure. His name frequently appeared in the Slovak press not only in connection with his activities but also as that of author of many articles, comments and penetrating observations. He was a regular contributor to several dailies and periodical of the time.

The years 1938-39 passed into Slovak national history as the year of Slovakia's encounter with destiny. The evergrowing determination of the Slovak nation to be master in its own house manifested itself so patently that the further denial of political justice was no longer possible. The artificial edifice of "czechoslovakism" crumbled and the rigid centralist form of government was replaced by a federalist system. The post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia became a federated state and within its framework Slovakia obtained its overdue autonomy. The Slovak People's Party as the biggest political party in Slovakia and the most consistent advocate of autonomy assumed political responsibility for the future development of Slovakia. The first Slovak autonomous government formed in October 1938 consisted of two Hlinka followers (Dr. Jozef Tiso and Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský), two Agrarians (Ján Lichner and Pavol Teplanský) and one Nationalist (Matúš Černák). These three parties represented—according to the 1935 election results—almost two thirds of the Slovak electorate.

The subsequent political activity of Dr. J. Kirschbaum must be viewed against this background. From the University lecture rooms he stepped straight into the turmoil of high-level politics. The situation facing the Slovak leaders was critical and very demanding. The People's Party had just lost its leader (Andrej Hlinka died in August 1938). Immediately after it had been granted autonomy Slovakia had to fight for its survival. Its greedy neighbors staked their territorial claims and Slovakia was forced to cede large portions of its territory to Hungary and smaller ones to Poland and Germany.

Truncated and harassed the country was even more determined to prove its vitality in spite of all threats and

drawbacks. To achieve this, national unity was necessary. The political leaders thought that such a unity could be accomplished (and convincingly demonstrated to outsiders) by the formation of a united political party for all Slovaks. This coalition-like party was formed in November 1938. It bore the dual name, Hlinka Slovak People's Party—The Party of Slovak National Unity and soon it was to be the real testing ground of the young Kirschbaum's abilities.

But before this happened Dr. Kirschbaum had to prove his skill elsewhere. In the first months of Slovak autonomy he served as secretary of Minister Ďurčanský (at the Ministry of Transport), and at the same time was the commandant of the Academic Hlinka Guards and the Editor-in-Chief of the radical fortnightly, "Nástup". In addition he was frequently seen and heard at many public meetings and demonstrations and his articles—which appeared regularly in "Nástup" and the daily press—were widely read.

In the historic days of March 1939 when the Czechs by a military 'putsch' tried to quash Slovak autonomy and the future of Slovakia again hung in the balance, Dr. J. Kirschbaum—like his chief Dr. Ďurčanský—considered the declaration of independence as the only viable solution. With fearless courage (the Czech military authorities issued an order for his arrest) he commuted between Dr. Ďurčanský in Vienna and the Slovak political leaders in Bratislava (Karol Sidor and the deposed Prime Minister Dr. Jozef Tiso) in an attempt to arrange some coordinated political action.

In these days of uncertainties he calmly organized—in defiance of Czech military orders—an impressive and well-disciplined march of University students through the streets of Bratislava. The authorities did not dare interfere and the demonstration turned out to be a significant moral booster for the suspense-packed hours preceding the declaration of independence. It is not surprising that in spite of his youth (he was barely 26) he figured on the list of the first Slovak government as proposed by Dr. Ďurčanský, where he was allotted the Transport portfolio.

But when—in the wake of the Slovak declaration of independence—the new government of Slovakia was an-

nounced, Kirschbaum's name was not included. But it was not because of his age. It is more probable that Dr. J. Tiso—the new Prime Minister and the leader of the Party of the Slovak National Unity — had for him a more challenging and exacting task. He appointed Dr. J. Kirschbaum the Secretary-General of the Party.

The work imposed on his young shoulders by this appointment was enormous. The Slovak People's Party of the pre-1938 period was administered very haphazardly. Fr. Hlinka as the undisputed leader of a widespread popular movement did not see any great need and hence paid little attention to the organizational and bureaucratic details of the Party's day-to-day existence. This could do while the Party was in opposition and Hlinka's word was law. But after Hlinka's death the Party became the dominating influence in the government of the country and in addition was swelled by the influx of new members (including former members of those parties which united with it in November 1938) it was necessary for the Party to have its own statutes, modern organizational structure and an effective administrative machinery. By the Constitutional Law of July 1939 the Party was assigned a new and important role in the political, cultural and social life of independent Slovakia. The constructive implementation of this role was the job of the General Secretariat where Dr. J. Kirschbaum and an able team of dedicated and enthusiastic helpers were hard at work.

At the Party Congress in Trenčín (September 30th—October 1st, 1939) Dr. J. Kirschbaum presented the new proposals for the organizational changes in the structure and administration of the Party. They were unanimously approved by the Congress and even his jealous critics had to admit that Dr. Kirschbaum and his team had done a thorough and creditable job. The Congress confirmed (also unanimously) Dr. Kirschbaum in the position of the Party's Secretary-General.

As the Secretary-General of the Party Dr. J. Kirschbaum displayed not only zeal and agility but also a vision and sense of judgment so important in such a responsible job. Under his able administration the rejuvenated Party was launched on its new course under the new social and political conditions.

Unfortunately Dr. Kirschbaum did not stay long in his Party post. In the first half of 1940 Slovak political life underwent dramatic changes due to the polarization of political thinking among the leaders of Slovakia. There were some who claimed that the present, as well as the future, of Slovakia must be linked with that of Germany in all respects. These close ties would postulate even the ideological remoulding of the Slovak life and outlook in the National Socialist pattern. This group, headed by Prime Minister Dr. Vojtech Tuka and the Commandant of the Hlinka Guards Alexander Mach, was resolutely opposed not only by President Dr. Tiso and the rest of the ministers but also by the overwhelming majority of rank and file Party members and the people. The Party Secretariat stood solidly behind the President who insisted that Slovak politics must not slavishly imitate foreign examples but should be rooted in native traditions. Tuka and his followers called for German assistance which was soon forthcoming in the shape of the notorious "Salzburg consultations".

In August 1940 Hitler and Ribbentrop forced President Tiso to dismiss from their positions of power the two men whom they considered as the chief trouble-makers and major obstructions to the spread of the Nazi ideology in Slovakia, namely Dr. F. Ďurčanský (Foreign and Interior Minister) and Dr. J. Kirschbaum (Secretary-General of the Party).

After his dismissal from the Party job Dr. J. Kirschbaum was called up to do his military service in the Slovak Army (1940-41). A ban was imposed on his further participation in the domestic politics of Slovakia. And so after completion of his military duties he entered the Slovak diplomatic service.

He started his diplomatic career as the Legation Counsellor at the Slovak Legation in Rome. After a short apprenticeship in Rome he assumed (in 1942) the position of Slovak Chargé d'Affaires in Bern, where he stayed till the end of World War II. On the soil of neutral Switzerland he did his utmost to safeguard Slovak interests in the realm of international politics. Through personal contacts—both official and unofficial—and by all means available

to him he defended Slovakia's case for independence in the post-war territorial rearrangement of Central Europe.

But the enemies of Slovak independence had at their side the victorious Western Powers and the Soviet Union and again it was the case of the "might-is-right" solution. With total disregard for the wishes of the small indigenous peoples it was decided to reimpose the discredited Versailles settlement on the nations of Central Europe. The Slovaks found themselves in an unwilling partnership with the Czechs in the reconstituted Czecho-Slovakia. As a result Dr. J. Kirschbaum like thousands of his countrymen stood face to face with the bitter reality of life in exile.

The first years of his life as a political exile he spent in Switzerland where he worked for a short period (1946-1948) as an accredited representative of the Slovak League to the International Refugee Organization in Geneva. He was in continuous contact with the Slovak political leaders in exile and with Slovak organizations in America and elsewhere. It was obvious to them that the struggle for the restoration of Slovak independence must start there and then, no matter how hopeless the situation might look. To assure the maximum effectiveness of this struggle an organized and coordinated action was required. Thus in the summer of 1948 the foundations were laid for a Slovak political representation—The Slovak National Council Abroad—which took upon itself to carry on the struggle for the just and inalienable demands of the Slovak nation. Dr. Jozef Kirschbaum was one of the principal architects of this organization. It included such well-known personalities as Sidor, Prídavok, Čulen, Mondok, Cieker, Paučo, Mikuš, etc., but—most regrettably—not Dr. F. Ďurčanský. Dr. J. Kirschbaum stood at the head of the Committee in charge of foreign affairs.

For this task he was indeed suitably prepared and equipped. He had the background of diplomatic experience and a deep and intimate knowledge of Slovak politics. His knowledge of the Western world was based on close observations and supplemented by his studies at several Western universities: Paris (Political Science, 1938), Rome (Political Science, 1941-42), Geneva (International Relations, 1946-48) and Montréal (1951-54).



In 1949 he emigrated with his family (he married Magdalena Danihel in 1941 and by this time they had three children) to Montréal in Canada. In spite of the difficulties which are the lot of every immigrant in a new country he quickly settled down and resumed his work where he had left off in Europe, including his university studies. In 1952 he obtained an M.A. and in 1954 a Ph.D. degree at the Université de Montréal. But even at this time his involvement in university activities went far deeper than a simple studentship. In 1951 he started to give a course of lectures at the Université de Montréal and later at the Université d'Ottawa and the University of Toronto. His lectures dealt with the broad spectrum of the history of the Western Slavs ('*Slavia Occidentalis*') and also with specific Slovak topics.

As time went by he became even more deeply concerned with Slovak emigré politics. After 1950 the centre of Slovak political activities shifted from Europe across the Atlantic and Montréal became their focal point. Here resided K. Sidor, K. Čulen, F. Tiso, F. Mondok, K. Murín and J. Kirschbaum who in 1952 was elected the chairman of the Political Committee of the Slovak National Council Abroad.

One worrying feature of the Slovak political life in exile was its bifurcation into two organizations struggling for the same aims but in bitter rivalry against each other. For a man like Dr. J. Kirschbaum it was a particularly heart-breaking experience since the rival organization was led by his former chief and friend, Dr. F. Ďurčanský. It took many years of patience and endurance to heal this split. Major credit for this achievement should go to Dr. J. Kirschbaum. It was largely through his effort that in 1960 the Slovak community both at home and abroad learned with satisfaction about the formation of a joint organization—The Slovak Liberation Council. Dr. Ďurčanský became the President of the Council's Executive Committee and Dr. J. Kirschbaum became the President of its Assembly.

On purpose I have not said anything about the journalistic and literary activities of Dr. J. Kirschbaum. They would form an extensive chapter all by themselves and one cannot do them justice within the framework of this

brief biographical sketch. I only wish to remind the reader that on top of all the accomplishments recorded in the preceding paragraphs he should superimpose an impressive literary and journalistic output. This activity began when Dr. J. Kirschbaum was 14 years old and it is still continuing. In the period of the past 45 years Dr. Kirschbaum wrote (by a modest estimate) something like 1200 articles on a wide variety of topics (political commentaries, editorials, literary criticism and history, Slavic studies, linguistics, political science) in five languages (Slovak, French, English, German, Spanish) as well as four scholarly books, two of them in English ('Slovakia: Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe', 1960, and 'Slovaks in Canada', 1967).

In the last few years Dr. Kirschbaum has expended much of his time and energy in organizing and promoting the work of the Slovak World Congress. This relatively new body (founded in 1970) embraces all Slovak political, cultural, fraternal and other organizations and societies to speak on their behalf for the Slovak cause in the free world. Dr. J. Kirschbaum is one of the Vice Presidents of the Slovak World Congress and at the moment is putting the finishing editorial touches to a Symposium on Slovak history and culture. The book will contain the lectures and discussions which were delivered at the special conference successfully arranged by Dr. Kirschbaum to coincide with the General Assembly of the Slovak World Congress in Toronto (June 1971).

Karl Marx who knew vastly more about life in exile than he knew about world revolution once wrote that emigré life is "a school of scandal and of meanness". Dr. Kirschbaum would probably agree with him. More than once he became an innocent victim of vicious attacks, intrigues and malicious gossip from the enemies of Slovak independence (who wanted to eliminate him from Slovak politics for obvious reasons) as well as from jealous and frustrated compatriots (who had no obvious reasons at all). But all this "sound and fury"—unpleasant and distracting as it must have been—did not sway Dr. Kirschbaum from his firm determination to work selflessly and untiringly for the just Slovak cause. Which only confirms my personal conviction about life in exile, namely that

exile brings out the best in a noble and purposeful man and the worst in those who are weak and insecure.

Dr. Jozef Kirschbaum can look back on his past years, and in particular the years in exile, with contentment and satisfaction. We who watched his efforts and striving at a close distance and followed them with good wishes and admiration, we know he tried his utmost and did his best. His achievements when measured against a background of harrowing and unfavorable circumstances will irritate his detractors but will inspire many of his countrymen both at home and abroad, at present and in the future.

AD MULTOS ANNOS!

*F. V n u k*, Australia

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## Select Bibliography of Foreign Language Writings by Prof. J. M. Kirschbaum

Convinced that the main role of Slovak intellectuals abroad is to acquaint the West with Slovak history, culture and literature, and to defend Slovakia's right to freedom and independence, Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum used for the past 20 years his talent and knowledge of several languages for that purpose more than any other Slovak in the free world. He published the first reference book on Slovakia in English, the first complete history of Slovaks in Canada, and was the only Slovak scholar abroad who in numerous papers and essays put Slovak cultural and political history into proper perspective at meetings of Canadian and American Slavists and in Canadian, American and European academic periodicals and encyclopedias. His comments on and critical reviews of hundreds of books in foreign languages or in Slovak which he published in academic periodicals of which he was member of the editorial board (*Etudes slaves et est-européennes*, *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, *Slavs in Canada*, *Slavica Canadiana*), or in the quarterlies *Slovakia*, *Slowakei* and *Most* also served the same aim: to present Slovakia and Slovak cultural life to the West in a proper light, and to correct the misconceptions which prevailed among American Slavists and historians of East Central Europe on Slovakia's past and present.

As President of the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation and its branch in Ontario, Dr. Kirschbaum also deserves credit for many favorable articles on Slovak matters published in some 20 languages by the Canadian Ethnic Press. Articles published in newspapers are not, however, listed even though many of them were scholarly essays rather than newspaper articles. Altogether Dr. Kirschbaum published about 2000 articles and essays in Slovak news-

papers and periodicals in the United States, Canada, Europe and Australia.

As a result, the select bibliography listed below is far from being complete. On the occasion of the 60th birthday of Dr. Kirschbaum, we want to record at least his most important writings in foreign languages, assuming that scholars and students of Slovak political history and cultural matters would find them useful for their studies and research.

— The Editor —

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## Evaluation of Dr. Kirschbaum's Writings by Critics

Dr. Kirschbaum's writings were bound to provoke favorable as well as unfavorable reaction. All his books and publications challenged numerous erroneous views on Slovakia's history and culture accepted in the West by scholars and political writers alike. Dr. Kirschbaum challenged these views by works with serious academic background and solid knowledge of matters discussed. In such a situation it was only natural that the reaction was on one hand favorable and on the other hand the author was unscrupulously attacked\* by adversaries of Slovakia's struggle for independence.

\* ) After the publication of the book *Slovakia—Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe*, to which the Hon. Alvin M. Bentley, member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the U. S. Congress, wrote an approving preface, Prague Government supplied some Czech and Communist newspapers in Canada and the U.S.A. with falsified documents destined to prevent Dr. Kirschbaum from teaching at universities or taking part in public life. A smear campaign on a large scale was organized against him especially in the Canadian press, and made news on radio and television. At the same time, pressure was exercised on the university authorities and academic associations. Even though it was clear that the campaign was politically motivated by the Prague Communist regime and had all the characteristics of "character assassination," Dr. Kirschbaum had to take legal action to clear his name.

Scholars and experts in history of Central Europe accepted Dr. Kirschbaum's first English book favorably and, as years pass, it is more and more referred to as a source to modern history of Slovakia.

IN EUROPE the book was reviewed in two academic periodicals, one published in London, England, and one in Padova, Italy, in the official organ of European federalist, *European Bulletin* (Jan.-Feb. 1961), published in Roma, Italy, and by experts on Central European affairs in Germany and Spain.

In his French article George Kallay wrote in the *European Bulletin*:

"One of the most eminent representatives of the federal thesis among his advocates in Central Europe, is a historian who now lives in Canada, Joseph M. Kirschbaum. Born at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, he was only six years old when it collapsed and, consequently, officially he became a "Czechoslovak". When Slovakia gained its independence, Kirschbaum, 25 years of age, became one of the most prominent representatives in Slovak politics. Slovak national politics condemned Czech domination as well as German domination which equally sought to subjugate the Slovak people. In many of his political works, Kirschbaum affirms the necessity of a *Central European Federation*. His most recent work, *Slovakia, Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe*, is but the expression of his federal thesis. He points out that the countries of Central and Oriental Europe must come to understand that they must unite if they do not wish to play the role of satellites of a foreign power."

F. McPoyne in *Central Europe Journal Sudeten Bulletin* (Munich, December 1960) wrote about the book as follows:

"Although written to enlighten and correct the warped political vision of those still convinced that Czechoslovakia was a "little Switzerland in the heart of Europe," this book may be recommended as a compact political history of Slovakia.

It is amazing that Czech propaganda was, and to a large extent still is, able to influence the thinking of millions of people—particularly the Anglo-Saxon world—to believe a myth that there is one "Czechoslovak" people.

Kirschbaum explodes this myth and traces the origins of Slovakia from its historic beginnings, unfolding before the reader a detailed and soundly referenced account of a proud, vital and highly cultured people from their earliest origins to the declaration of their independence in 1939, pleading for a new order in Central Europe where two world wars were touched off.

A dual leitmotiv throughout is the thesis that Slovakia has at all eras of its history been a western-oriented people and has been sought after by other surrounding peoples who attempted, but unsuccessfully, to assimilate it. Today the Slovaks are still western-oriented interiorly and not assimilated, either by the Czechs or by the Soviets. Kirschbaum's book is another reminder and a convincing one, that fires are still burning in the hearts of a little people in Central Europe who,

like the Irish whom so strongly resemble, are keeping the faith that independence shall one day be theirs. Though captured by Communists, they have not compromised with them. May Joseph Kirschbaum's meritorious volume win friends for Slovakia and for their cause."

More critical opinion was expressed in *The Slavonic Review* (Vol. 4, 1962-3) published in London, by Prof. W. V. Wallace. This had to be, however, expected from an academic journal behind which was Prof. Seton-Watson. According to the reviewer, Dr. Kirschbaum set out "to make known the truth about Slovakia, and especially about the crucial years of 1939-1945," which in his opinion was "a laudable aim, but a demanding one." Arguing with the text on the cover of the book rather than with the contents, Prof. Wallace could not deny that "Kirschbaum's book has some interest," but did not accept it "as a last word" in which respect he was right. However, the fact that the *Slavonic Review* dedicated two pages long article to the book, is a clear indication that the book could not be overlooked and has its value in the eyes of people who disagreed with Slovakia's aspirations for independence.

IN THE UNITED STATES the book was received with enthusiasm by a number of Slovak periodicals, published in Slovak and English, as a "brilliant defense of the Slovak cause and an overdue scholarly work on Slovakia." Nobody more than American Slovaks felt the need for a book which would tell Americans and the second and third generation of American Slovaks the truth about Slovakia in a comprehensive English work. Dr. Kirschbaum's book filled the gap not only according to many articles in Slovak American newspapers, but also according to the director of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland, Ohio, Rev. A. Pier, O.S.B. who reviewed the book in the quarterly *Slovakia* (Vol. X, No. 6), as follows:

"This latest work by the distinguished professor of Slavic Studies at the University of Montreal is a well-balanced, co-ordinated and well-calculated effort to give thinking people a true picture of the Slovak nation struggling for national freedom and survival since the dawn of western civilization.

In his introduction, Kirschbaum gives the reader a genuine historical perspective of the land and its people in a few pages. In a concise sweep of centuries of history, the author traces the fateful course of this small but dynamic nation from the sixth century to the present.

Never before has a reader of Slovak historical development had the opportunity to learn so quickly the real story of a country whose destiny has been and still is closely associated with the life of its neighbors, namely, Czechs, Austrians, Germans, Poles, Russians, and Magyars, for here, in a compact volume, the author has compressed centuries of history as it occurred in the heart of Europe. Slovak culture, literature and the language of the oldest people in the Danube region, as well as the democratic traditions of the Slovak nation, are presented in an intelligible way. Moreover, the complex events that created and shaped Czecho-Slovakia and then led to the declaration

of Slovak independence on March 14, 1939 (six months before the outbreak of the War) are so arranged and explained as to give the reader a factual and masterful survey of a hectic period in modern history.

Documents and letters relating to the struggle of the Slovaks for their right to self-government and a free statehood are quoted as far back as April 13, 1849, when a group of Slovak deputies submitted a petition to the Ministry in Vienna for national recognition. These, a total of 72, are up to 1955. Thus, not only is this book designated for popular reading but also for serious study by students of history. It will serve to provide them with a basic historical knowledge of the Slovak nation, and will give them a reliable insight into the incredibly fascinating story of Slovakia on the Danube."

Several periodicals reprinted Congressman Bentley's opinion that:

"Professor Kirschbaum in his book *Slovakia—Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe* has well and effectively argued the case for Slovak independence. He has pointed out the geographical importance of Slovakia and, to my way of thinking, clearly established the fact that these proud people have every right to make a free choice of their political future when the time comes which will permit them to do so. Perhaps even more important, he has laid great emphasis upon the eventual necessity of a commonwealth of European nations of Central Europe, an organization which would, while permitting free expression of nationalistic tendencies, give to this area the cohesive strength which it has lacked ever since the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire. It would mean to me that his book should be required reading for all those who have an interest in the future of the captive peoples of this great region."

In the literary quarterly *Most* the book was reviewed by the nestor of Slovak emigré writers and publicists Konštantín Čulen (Vol. VII, No. 3-4). The English quarterly *Slovakia* published several reviews of Dr. Kirschbaum's book, all of them favorable (see Vol. X, No. 6-7, Vol. XI, No. 2).

Academic periodicals recorded publication of the book and the *Slavic and East European Journal*, published at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, reviewed the book favorably. More important, however, is the fact that hundreds of university libraries and public libraries made the book available to students and professors of Central European history. The success of the book bothered so much the adversaries of Slovak national aspirations, that the book was repeatedly stolen from some libraries or filled with abusive comments. There were three prints of the book within five years.

IN CANADA the book *Slovakia—Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe* was reviewed very favorably in the bilingual quarterly *Etudes slaves et est-européennes*, published at the Université de Montréal, by Prof. V. Lalic (Vol. V, 1960), by Prof. Charles Murin and Prof. Watson Kirkconnell who positively commented also on Dr. Kirschbaum's

cultural publications and essays (University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. XXXI, XXXII and XXIV, No. 4).

In his extensive review, Prof. V. Lalich dwelt especially on the value of Prof. Kirschbaum's book for Slavists. In his opinion "For many Slavists who were interested in Slovakia only because of the role she played in the epoch of Great Moravia or in Pan-Slavism and later in Czechoslovakia, Professor Kirschbaum's book will represent the needed filling of a gap, which one felt when speaking or writing about the Slavic world. At the same time, however, it will appear as a controversial treatise on many questions pertaining to the history and national identity of the Slovak people.

"Using quotations and references profusely, Dr. Kirschbaum's book challenges the erroneous or opposing views and theories, and makes an honest effort to shed a new light on the principal problems of Slovak national development and the modern history of Slovakia. His picture is, understandably, in many regards different from what we were presented with, during the last four decades, as an objective image. But in view of the fact that his work is based on a thorough knowledge of original works, long research and personal experience, it is worth paying attention to this new interpretation of Slovak history and its new presentation of Slovak cultural life."

According to Prof. Lalich, "For Slavists, the value of the book lies especially in its first part, in which the author writes on cultural, literary, social and general political issues, and in which he used a scholarly method in presenting Slovakia's contribution to Slavic civilization (pp. 25-26, 40-49). In works on Slavic literature there was, until now, considerable confusion as to the literary language used by the Slovaks and if, or how far, the Slovak language was a distinct Slavic tongue. These questions as well as many others pertaining to the Slovak national and cultural heritage, are answered on the basis of recent research in Dr. Kirschbaum's book. He supports his conclusions by many quotations and documents translated from originals."

Nevertheless, Prof. Lalich thinks that the substance of Dr. Kirschbaum's book is "in Part II, in which the author deals extensively with the origin of Czechoslovakia and of the Slovak Republic, and offers quite a different picture from that presented by others during or after the war. Since the author undoubtedly has the necessary background to write on this subject with authority, and because he has based his conclusions on references to a large number of documents, his new presentation of modern Slovak history will not be without value, though it may not or will not satisfy some editors of symposia on Central European countries, whose views the author attacks and rejects as having been motivated by politics and not by facts or scholarly research.

In presenting the case of Slovakia, the author tends, however, to engage in an argument rather than in an impartial explanation of facts, as if he were intentionally trying to provoke a controversy instead of trying to achieve the acceptance of his views. Repetition of evident

inaccuracies in many works dealing with Slovakia can certainly irritate the Slovaks, but to readers who are far from resentments, which the Slovaks may rightly feel towards some of their neighbours or politicians, a less emotional presentation would probably be more efficient. The author appears more of a politician than a scholar in this part of his work; nevertheless, he still respects the facts and the truth, and the large documentation he has used makes the book an honest and courageous attempt at a new presentation of Slovakia."

Prof. Charles Murin analyzed and evaluated the book in a lengthy scholarly analysis. In his view, "Prof. Kirschbaum's book is written for both the intelligent observer of the international politics and those whose task it is to participate in the shaping of the current international situation which seems to contain an amount of irrational elements to a degree probably never equalled in the period of modern history."

"Kirschbaum's book," Prof. Murin continues, "is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the premises and origins of the present day situation, restricted to one of its sections: Central Europe. Genetically this seems to be the most important field through the quantitative aspects of the problems in Asia and Africa overshadow the European problems. The author relates the political history of Slovakia and of Central Europe. The period described, however, happens to be the one which preceded the Soviet hegemony over half of Europe. Thus the book contains excellent material offered to the English reader who wants to trace down the errors of the past and is willing both to learn from the past errors and re-think the categories of living ideas and forces which simultaneously are being shaped by and are shaping this world of ours."

The basic service this book renders to the reader is that it shows him to what degree the conceptions of the West in regard to the political organization of one of the neuralgic spots in Europe were dominated by facts and to what degree by fancy. To show the interplay of reality and illusion, the genuine and the phony in the official views of the state departments of the West in regard to Central Europe seems to be to be the aim of the book. Further the author shows to what extent these conceptions contained inherent contradictions and were, therefore, doomed in the long run. Be it noted that some of the prejudices discussed in the book represent an inheritance from the post-World War I arrangements."

In the opinion of Professor Murin the author "has mastered more than sufficiently the material he is dealing with and is in a solid position to give an accurate account on Slovak history, an account on a sober relativistic character of historical events, thus avoiding the peculiar exclusivities not only of the Czech and Magyar writers, but also of their Slovak antipodes."

Publications on cultural matters, four of which Dr. Kirschbaum published in the series *Slavistica*, edited by Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj from the University of Manitoba, were reviewed in *Slavic Review*, *University of Toronto quarterly*, *Slavica Canadiana*, *Revista de Estudios Políticos*



(Vol. 117-118, 125), *Slovakia, Slowakei, Most*, as well as in numerous Slovak newspapers and periodicals. Foreign and Slovak reviewers (Dr. S. Glejdura, Rev. A. Pier, Dr. J. Rekem), welcomed these studies as a valuable contribution to scholarly literature on Slovakia destined to acquaint Western Slavists with Slovak culture. Several essays dealing with the Slovak language, philology and literary history, which Dr. Kirschbaum published in academic reviews (*Canadian Slavonic Papers, Etudes slaves et est-européennes*) or in *Slovak Studies* (Vol. III) and *Most*, appeared also in reprints and were favorably commented upon by reviewers in Canada, the U.S.A. and Europe. In view of the fact that even among Western Slavists there were many misconceptions about Slovak language and literature, Dr. Kirschbaum's writings were the first ones in foreign languages to shed an objective light on Slovak language and literature. Several of these essays were originally papers delivered and discussed at annual meetings of Canadian and American Slavists and performed a useful role of acquainting professors of Slavic studies with Slovak history and literature.

The largest and, in the opinion of some critics, the best work by Dr. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, was received as a model for history books on ethnic groups. In addition to numerous reviews in Slovak, over 30 book reviews in not less than 15 languages were published within a year of the publication of the book. And all were exceptionally favorable. The Minister of Education of Ontario spoke about the book in Parliament and one of the best known Canadian radio and television commentators, Gordon Sinclair, analyzed and praised the book as a particular contribution to Canadian history.

Even though the topic of the book had a limited scope, the number of academic periodicals which reviewed it favorably, was greater than in the case of the first English book by Dr. Kirschbaum. Moreover, the reviews were written by professors known as experts and were published in the official organs of American and Canadian associations of Slavists: the *Slavic Review* (Prof. Taborsky); *Canadian Slavonic Papers* (Prof. J. V. Kaye); *Etudes slaves et est-européennes* (Prof. R. Cujes); *Slavica Canadiana* (Prof. Charles Murin); *University of Ottawa Quarterly* (Prof. E. Buydosh).

From a number of reviews by professors at American and Canadian universities at least a few should be mentioned. Prof E. Taborsky of the University of Texas, assessed the book in the *Slavic Review* (Vol. 29, No. 2), as follows:

"Professor Kirschbaum divides his "saga of a small group of people in a new land who preserved their identity and achieved success" into four parts. Part I describes the historical, ethnic, cultural, political, religious, and economic ground of the Slovak immigrants and concludes with a brief sketch of the Slovak national character.

Based on a wealth of sources, including the archives of various Canadian Slovak organizations, the Slovak press in Canada, and interviews with Slovak settlers in many parts of Canada, Kirschbaum's study is a useful contribution to the literature on the Central European

immigration to the Western Hemisphere. It is only a pity that the volume is marred by occasional remarks revealing the author's anti-Czech bias and detracting thus from the objectivity promised in the book's preface."

Dr. V. J. Kaye of the Ottawa University welcomed the book as "the first detailed, well-documented, and excellently written history in the English language of the Slovak ethnic group in Canada." And after giving the perusal of individual chapters saying that "Dr. Kirschbaum's study is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the history of Slavic groups in Canada, and he deserves full recognition for his achievement." (*Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. XI, 1, 1969).

In the *Etudes slaves et est européennes* (Vol. XIII, 1968), Professor R. Cujes of the St. Francis Xavier University wrote about the book as follows:

"Centennial year served as an opportune stimulus for informing Canadians of the many and diverse ethnic contributions evident in contemporary Canada. An outstanding example, and one which has been favorably reviewed in several ethnic publications across Canada, is Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum's "Slovaks in Canada." The author certainly succeeded in his task of uncovering and preserving much historical data which will be of interest not only to Canadians of Slovak origin, but also to Canadian historians who have still to write a truly Canadian history. He achieved a good balance between the two extremes possible in such works: either to be too general to have documentary value or to become so detailed that the book becomes source material and too heavy for the general reader.

By writing this book, Dr. Kirschbaum rendered invaluable services not only to Slovaks in Canada whose deeds he faithfully recorded but also to all Canadians. Some other ethnic groups, especially the smaller ones which have had, in many ways, similar experience as the Slovaks, may become encouraged to undertake a similar publication of their own.

The fact that Dr. Kirschbaum is one of the most important Slovak personalities in Canada, and that he plays an important role among Slovaks abroad, enabled him to present a very clear and complete picture. Nevertheless, the book suffers from one defect; Dr. Kirschbaum's own contributions are much too attenuated. They are an essential and very important part of the Slovak scene and should have been presented at greater length in the text and not confined to footnotes and bibliography."

Prof J. Rouček, known by his anti-Slovak bias, reviewed the book in *International Migration Review* (Vol. III, 9, 1969), together with another book on Slovaks and Czechs in Canada by J. Gellner-J. Smerek. In Rouček's opinion Dr. Kirschbaum "certainly stresses his filiopietism" and is "promoting Slovak separatism," to which Prof. Rouček objects, he nevertheless writes:

"Since both of these studies are the first systematic surveys of their subject in English, their appearance must be welcomed by all students

interested in the growing number of immigrants in Canada. Both are filled with valuable information which is hardly accessible to the average scholar not able to read Czech and Slovak, and both have been prepared by Czechs and Slovaks intimately acquainted with the communities of their countrymen in Canada.

Nevertheless, both also suffer when we compare them with each other. In general, Kirschbaum's study, in spite of its weaknesses, is much better and more exhaustive than Gellner-Smerek's work, since it is better documented (as shown by its bibliography, pp. 441-455), and contains reprints of 24 memoranda, petitions, pleas, and resolutions either to the Canadian authorities or to the United Nations by the Slovak Canadian organizations, as well as by individual members of the Canadian Slovak League and the First Catholic Slovak Union during the past three decades."

On the part of American Slovaks the book was received with the mixture of enthusiasm and envy, expressed not only in a great number of newspapers but also by the poet Mikuláš Šprinc in *Most*, and two teachers at the SS. Cyril and Methodius Academy, Sisters M. Y. Lederleitner and M. M. Tybor. In their thorough analysis of the book they wrote:

"A historical survey of Slovaks living anywhere outside their native Slovakia must of necessity follow a certain pattern of development. For the benefit of uniformed readers, the opening of the work must be expository—a delineation of the historic background of the Slovak people and their position with a historic perspective. Then there logically follows a record of their uprooting within the scope of the given consideration, as well as their trials and tribulations in a new environment, an evaluation of what forces worked for or against them, and an assessment of their achievements in the new land.

In his book *Slovaks in Canada*, Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum has effectively met this challenge. We who are privileged to look upon the accomplished fact of a finished project presenting to the public the aches and the trials, the hopes and the promises, the opportunities and the fulfillment up to triumph, the gifts received and the gifts given, the moral as well as the material investments made and the dividends garnered—we are grateful to Dr. Kirschbaum whose scholarly initiative and acumen together with his indefatigable industry and talent has made this book a reality. It deserves more than one reading since it is an informative and highly interesting account of Slovak life in a new world setting.

In all honesty, we must admit an undenied regret that the Slovaks in the U. S. have not produced a similar or parallel history of their own to match *Slovaks in Canada* while at the same time we cherish a justifiable pride in Dr. Kirschbaum because he has done a good work well."

The book was very positively evaluated even by the official organ of Slovak Protestants in the United States, *The Zion* (September 1971). In the opinion of the editor, Pastor John Adam, Dr. Kirschbaum "has, in his book, *Slovaks in Canada*, given all Slovaks a valuable history

which will stand for decades as the work on the immigration of Slovaks to Canada in the first 60 years of this century. He has captured the trials, tribulations and triumphs of Slovaks who came to Canada in three separate waves of immigration. The account of the struggle of the pioneers has thorough documentation, which will help even Americans of Slovak ancestry understand a part of their past for the experience in Canada, in many respects, is a reflection of the struggle in America."

In the opinion of the Hon. R. S. Welch, Minister of Education of the Ontario Government, "*Slovaks in Canada*, as its title suggests, is a comprehensive account of Slovak migrations to Canada, of the trials and successes the Slovak people have experienced here, and of their important contributions to our land.

Its author is Slovakian-born Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum, a former diplomat who has achieved great distinction in Canada as an editor, author, scholar and university professor of Slavic-Slovak studies. Its sponsor is the Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Ontario.

It should, therefore, be a source of satisfaction to all of us when scholars of other ethnic origins, equally proud of both their ancestry and of the contributions made by members of their race to the Canadian nation, choose to chronicle the histories of their people in Canada." (From a speech in Parliament on July 15, 1968).



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# *Diplomatic and Consular Relations of Slovakia with Neutral States*

*By J. M. Kirschbaum, Ph.D.*

## *I.*

The emergence of the Slovak Republic in March 1939 has been for years presented by historians of Central Eastern Europe in accordance with the War propaganda rather than on the basis of historical facts. In the West, especially the propaganda of the "Czechoslovak government-in-exile" crept into the history books and some misconceptions survived even the publication of secret documents and the opening of the War archives.

It would, however, be unfair to blame Western historians alone for the inaccuracies and prejudices presentation of Slovakia's international status and diplomatic and consular relations. There was no serious attempt on the Slovak side to give historians of Central Eastern Europe sufficient information in foreign language, which could enable them to draw an objective picture of the Slovak Republic. Moreover, comprehensive work on international relations of Slovakia is missing even in Slovak historiography.

The reason for not writing about the international relations of Slovakia with other countries by Communist historians is quite understandable: they were reluctant to admit that the Slovak Republic was also recognized by the Soviet Union and some 29 other countries, including the European Great Powers and neutral countries. According to the official "Czechoslovak" propaganda during the War, the Slovak Republic was recognized only by Germany and

her satellites and this distortion of historical facts suited the post-war Marxist historians. What is difficult to understand, however, is the neglect by Slovaks abroad, especially if we take into account that a number of former Slovak diplomats found refuge in the countries of the free world.

During the War some articles surveying the first years of the Slovak Republic were published in Switzerland, but they discussed the international status of Slovakia only passingly. Such was the series of articles by Arnold Schwengeler in the daily *Der Bund*, and two French articles: one by the Swiss writer William Ritter in the *Gazette de Lausanne* and a contribution to the *Revue de droit international de sciences diplomatiques et politiques* by this writer under the pen-name Andre Cerisier.<sup>1</sup>

After the War, an English publication by F. Ďurčanský, *The International Aspects of the Slovak Question*, examined the subject from both the juridical and political points of view. The international relations of Slovakia with other countries were discussed, however, only briefly even in this study. Several other Slovak authors dealt with Slovakia's international relations in a general way by inserting a chapter or two in their books or in their articles on Slovakia. Such have been the contributions of this writer either in Slovak or foreign languages and especially a chapter on the diplomatic recognition of Slovakia in his book *Slovakia — Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe*, and in his Slovak book *Náš boj o samostatnosť Slovenska*.<sup>2</sup>

The Slovak diplomatic representative in Spain, Dr. J. A. Mikuš, wrote on the subject in his book *Slovakia — A Political History* and in the annuals published in the United States<sup>3</sup> either in English or in Slovak, and F. Vnuk published a study based on the Vatican archives materials,<sup>4</sup> but all these writings are far from giving an adequate picture of the international relations of the Slovak Republic with European and non-European states which recognized Slovakia in 1939 as an independent state.

As far as the memoirs are concerned, only Karol Sidor, the Slovak Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Vatican, published a full account of his years at the Holy See in his Slovak book *Šesť rokov pri Vatikáne* (Six Years at the Vatican). This writer published reminis-



cences on his years in Italy and as head of the legation of the Slovak Republic in Switzerland in various Slovak annuals, published in Canada and in the United States.<sup>5</sup> More than a dozen former Slovak diplomats who live either in Western Europe or in other parts of the free world, are still expected to record the years of their diplomatic service to enable historians to present this chapter of modern Slovak history in an objective manner.

In view of this, it will perhaps not be amiss to record some data and to answer the question of how the emergence of the Slovak Republic on March 14, 1939, was accepted by European and non-European public opinion and how the governments of European neutral countries received the proclamation of Slovakia's independence. In my book *Slovakia — Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe* a survey of the international recognition of the Slovak Republic has given general information on this subject with some documents to support the historical facts and to prove the utterly incorrect propaganda which for a period of the past 30 years bluntly disregarded the facts and asserted that the Slovak Republic was recognized only by Germany and her satellites.

## II.

In the short period of liberalization in Czecho-Slovakia the Marxist historians who, for political reasons avoided writing about the international status of the Slovak Republic, admitted that:

"In March 1939 appeared on the map of Europe a new state — Slovakia. With the exception of the United States all European Great Powers successively recognized the Slovak state de jure or at least de facto: Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and many smaller European and non-European countries: Poland, Hungary, the Vatican, Switzerland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Spain, Sweden, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Liberia, Ecuador, Costarica, Holland, Finland, Belgium, Croatia, the Chinese Government of Nanking, etc. The Slovak state became a member of various international conventions and agreements and in the first years of the War it was considered in many capital cities as a small, but as a not easily discarded part of the motley mosaic of European relations."<sup>6</sup>

Other Marxist historians recorded that the Soviet Union, who recognized the Slovak Republic on September 16, 1939, and established the largest embassy in the capital city of Slovakia, counted until 1943 with the existence of the Slovak Republic also in the post-War European organization. According to the Communist party archives in March 1940 the illegal Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party received the following directives:

"Our pre-War slogans must be changed. Under the slogan "Restoration of Czechoslovakia" are hidden at the present time imperialist and anti-Soviet plans. The problem of nationalities is today not the same; it is reduced to the problem of Czechs and Slovaks. We state explicitly that our Party is now for the slogan of the full right of self-determination of Czechs and Slovaks. The right of self-determination means the right to an independent state. For the Czechs, we fight for a restoration of their national and political freedom. For the Slovaks, we fight for the full sovereignty of the present Slovak state. The fight for the right of self-determination makes our way different from that of world imperialism and Benes. The Slovak state is the given basis for the full freedom of Slovaks. The future relations between the Czech and Slovak states is the question of self-determination of both nations and depends on the events of the war (and on its results, remark by Dimitrov)." <sup>7</sup>

This was only consistent with the speech of the Soviet Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, G. Pushkin, who, upon presenting his credentials to the President of the Slovak Republic, Dr. Jozef Tiso, said:

"Presenting to you the documents which accredit me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, appointed by the Presidency of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, I can announce to you with joy that the nations of the Soviet Union have taken cognizance of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Slovak Republic with deep satisfaction. Because of the war in Europe the establishment of these relations oversteps the framework of mutual interests of both our states." <sup>8</sup>

Since 1960, when my survey of the diplomatic recognition of the Slovak Republic was published, some interesting

documents pertaining to the attitude of the European Great Powers towards Slovakia were published also with regard to Great Britain. I found in 1960 documents and references which shed on the policy of Great Britain toward Slovakia quite a different light<sup>9</sup> from that unscrupulously repeated in the War propaganda of the "Czechoslovak government-in-exile," in the memoirs of Dr. E. Beneš, and in the history books written by American and some European historians.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of the British archives, F. Vnuk published a few years later a well documented insight into the British attitude which was far more favorable to Slovaks than it has been believed and recorded by Western historians.<sup>11</sup>

However, the present survey aims at giving the basic data on the diplomatic recognition of the Slovak Republic only by the European neutral countries and on the activities and political conceptions of Slovak diplomats accredited in those countries. Even that scope will be narrowed here because the Slovak representatives in Sweden and Spain are alive and work on their memoirs, and the relations between the Holy See and the Slovak Republic were sufficiently recorded in K. Sidor's book, mentioned above.

### III.

#### NEUTRAL STATES WHICH RECOGNIZED THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

The first of all neutral states to recognize Slovakia diplomatically was Switzerland which gave full recognition to the Slovak Republic on April 19, 1939. Switzerland was followed by Spain on April 25, 1939, and by the Vatican on May 25, 1939. Sweden as the fourth neutral European state, recognized the Slovak Republic on July 26, 1939. Whereas between the Vatican, Switzerland and Spain, and Slovakia, diplomatic relations were *de jure* and *de facto* and existed from the very beginning, the relations with Sweden developed slowly and remained on the consular level.

From the diplomatic point of view, the most important diplomatic recognition of the Slovak Republic was, of course, that by the Vatican. This recognition had not only a political but also a moral importance in Europe and in

the world before the Second World War. As mentioned, the Vatican gave diplomatic recognition to Slovakia on May 25, 1939, and the Slovak representative as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary was accredited in July of the same year. The Holy See appointed first a Nuncio in Bratislava, Msgr. Xaverius Ritter, who had served previously in Prague, but due to some misunderstanding and misinterpretation of his credentials, Msgr. Giuseppe Burzio, as *Chargé d'Affaires*, represented the Holy See during the whole period of the War and for some time even after the War.

In view of the fact that the War started just six months after the declaration of Slovakia's independence, the diplomatic relations of Slovakia with the Vatican became even more important. The efforts of Czech exiles to induce the Vatican into breaking off relations were not successful<sup>12</sup> and at the end of the War, the Slovak representative was the last one of all Slovak diplomats in neutral states to close his legation. The political, social and moral importance of the diplomatic relations with the Holy See is described in Sidor's book in which one can find not only some important documents, but also valuable information on political developments in Slovakia during the War.

From Sidor's book and the above mentioned essay by Vnuk, historians can draw enough information to put into proper perspective the relations between Slovakia and the Holy See and prove incorrect the assertions spread in Western historiography.

Spain was represented in Slovakia by an experienced career diplomat Juan Cano y Trueba, known generally in Bratislava as Count Bailen. He had the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. On the other hand, Slovakia was first represented in Spain by a *Chargé d'Affaires en pied* and later by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. The first Slovak diplomat to visit Madrid was Dr. Jozef M. Zvrškovec who represented Slovakia in Italy and who later became known for his note in which he spoke about a neutral status of Slovakia with regard to Great Britain.<sup>13</sup>

Zvrškovec, however, did not present his credentials in Spain. This was done in April 1940 by Dr. Joseph A. Mikuš

who was accredited as *Chargé d'Affaires en pied* and presented his credentials to the Minister of External Affairs, General Count Jordana. Mikuš remained in Spain from April 11, 1940 to March 24, 1944 and left his post on receiving the Honor of Commandador de la Order de Isabel la Catholica. He was replaced by Mister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, Dr. Jozef Cieker, who remained in Spain until his untimely death in 1969. Cieker also was a career diplomat and one of the leading Catholic intellectuals. He was active in Pax Romana and Slavia Catholica before he entered the diplomatic service in Prague. He served in Belgrade as *Chargé d'Affaires* and in Zagreb as Minister of the Slovak Republic. In Spain, Cieker was quite successful not only among the members of the Government but also in his relations with the Catholic hierarchy. His good relations proved very useful after the War when he became director of an international College for refugee students (*Collegio Major Santiago Apostol*). In exile, Cieker was until his death one of the leading figures of the Slovak National Council Abroad and known as author of books and articles in Slovak as well as in foreign languages.<sup>14</sup> The relations between Spain and Slovakia will, however, be treated by Mikuš in his memoirs.

The diplomatic relations of the Slovak Republic with Switzerland were, from the political as well as economic point of view, of great importance. The capital city of Switzerland, Bern, was the second most important European center of diplomatic activities during the whole period of the War, as the Allies, the states which belonged to the Axis camp and all the neutral countries were represented in Switzerland.

Slovakia established a legation in Bern in the summer of 1939, and Switzerland opened a Consulate General in Bratislava, indicating that a legation would be established later. Even though the Swiss recognition was on the diplomatic level, this uneven representation caused the Slovak Government to send to Switzerland diplomatic representatives with the title *Chargé d'Affaires en pied*, who were duly accredited as hands of diplomatic missions but only socially were addressed as Ministers or Envoys. The first Slovak representative in Switzerland was Dr. Bohdan Galváněk who, after a short stay, was sent to Rome, Italy,



and replaced by a well-known Slovak writer, Tido J. Gašpar. Even though Gašpar was very successful in Bern's diplomatic circles and made for Slovakia a good name, he was replaced in the fall of 1940 by a career diplomat, Dr. Radúz Radlinský. Well prepared for his role, Radlinský made many friends among diplomats from various countries and increased the prestige of the Slovak legation. However, in 1942, he left the diplomatic service and the Slovak government accredited in his stead the writer of this survey, who remained in Bern until the end of the War.

The relations between Slovakia and Switzerland were, from the very beginning, friendly. For Slovakia Bern was of great political importance; for Switzerland economic relations prevailed. In addition to current diplomatic activities the Slovak legation in Bern had the mission to acquaint diplomats and journalists of all countries with the existence of the Slovak Republic as a new state in Central Europe, and with the aspirations of the Slovak people not only during the War, but also after the world conflict ended. On the part of the Swiss government, the stress was understandably on economic relations which developed very favorably for both countries, leaving at the end of the war a large amount of surplus money from economic exchanges in Bern.<sup>15</sup> Switzerland was represented in Slovakia by Dr. Max Graessli, a career diplomat with the title of Consul General.

The good relations between Switzerland and the Slovak Republic were reflected not only in extensive economic and commercial relations but also in the fact that the Swiss government allowed to appoint two honorary consuls for Slovakia in Switzerland. One of them was a wealthy industrialist who had some economic interests in Slovakia also before the war, Rudolf Eckenstein, from Basel. In Zurich was appointed Arthur Gaerrick, a wealthy businessman who represented before the war several Czech firms in Switzerland.

During the first years of the War there were indications that the relations between Switzerland and the Slovak Republic would be normalized in the sense that Switzerland would also establish a legation in Bratislava, and the head of the Slovak legation in Bern would assume the title of



Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. During one of my visits with the Minister for External Affairs, Pilez-Golas, I had the impression that this normalization was imminent and I reported the good news to Bratislava with great satisfaction as one of my achievements. However, the luck of the German armies on the Russian front changed and they started to retreat after a terrible defeat at Stalingrad. This made the Swiss government more cautious in their foreign policy with regard to the countries which *volens volens* were on the side of the Axis. When the retreat assumed catastrophic dimensions, Minister Pilez-Golas was replaced by a person who had previously no connections with foreign policy and was considered as friendly and acceptable for the Allies.

The victory of the Allies was expected after the German retreats as certain, even though rumors persisted that the Allies can make a separate peace with Germany and turn together against the Soviet march toward the West. Only after the failure to kill Hitler by the attempt on July 22, 1944, these rumors died down and diplomats accredited in Switzerland, as well as some members of the Swiss government, began openly speaking about the unconditional surrender of Germany and her allies. This logically was the end of any hope that Switzerland would establish in Bratislava a legation instead of a consulate general.<sup>16</sup>

In view of the complex world situation and hostile propaganda against Slovakia in the West one of the main goals of Slovak diplomatic representatives in Bern was to put into proper perspective the aspirations of the Slovak people for freedom and independence regardless of the results of the military conflict. Therefore, many steps were made to counteract the hostile propaganda emanating from the exiled "Czechoslovak" circles in London and Washington and to inform the diplomats accredited in Switzerland about the true situation in Slovakia, and about the attitude of the Slovak people towards the West. Unfortunately, Western diplomats displayed very little understanding for the aspirations of the Slovak people and mostly adhered to the concept of the Czech exiled politicians headed by Dr. E. Beneš.

For acquainting foreign diplomats and Swiss journalists with Slovakia and with the political aspirations of the Slovak people, the Slovak Legation in Bern published from August 1943 to January 1945 a bulletin in French and German, *Correspondence slovaque*, and organized trips for Swiss journalists to Slovakia. One of them, the editor of the prestigious daily "Der Bund," Arnold H. Schwengler, published from his visit to Slovakia a series of articles which, compiled in a booklet "Die slowakische Reise," gave a favorable picture of the economic as well as cultural situation in the Slovak Republic. For publishing the *Correspondence slovaque* and for maintaining contacts with the press was mainly responsible, until the summer of 1944, Dr. Arvéd Grébert, who served as Press Attaché at the Legation.

Some newspapers used the information they received from the *Correspondence slovaque* of which 23 issues were published. The *Correspondence slovaque* aimed in the first place to give basic information on economic and cultural matters, but each issue also contained political articles defending the right of Slovaks to independence and refuting the adverse propaganda of the Czech exiles in the West. The political articles were usually free of any mention of Slovakia's relations with Germany and were concerned with the preservation of Slovakia's independence after the war, advocating a sort of federative solution of the problems of the Central European nations.

This political concept was advocated also by the Slovak Legation at the Vatican. Sidor's articles on Central European Federation also appeared in some French and German press in Switzerland. In the fall of 1944, an article advocating federalism in Central Europe was published also in the *Revue de droit international*, mentioned above, by the former Minister of External Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Prof. F. Ďurčanský.<sup>17</sup>

The Slovak Legation in Bern also had a mission to co-operate with Slovak diplomats in neutral countries in order to co-ordinate the efforts aiming at a just solution of the Slovak problem at the end of the War. Very close co-operation developed especially between Karol Sidor, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Vatican, and the writer, for the concept of a Central European Federation conceived

as a democratic and Christian block of states on the Soviet border. The idea met with some understanding in Swiss newspapers and in certain diplomatic circles in the West, but was not officially accepted by the Allies because of agreement with the Soviet government in Teheran and Yalta.

Swiss public opinion and the press were generally favorably disposed towards Slovakia during the first years of the War, and some newspapers did so also at the end of the War and after. Even though the "Czechoslovak government in exile" tried to use for their propaganda their old connections with Swiss newspapers and kept in Geneva a propagandist under the cover of an exiled journalist, only the Socialist and Communist press published here and there adverse articles on Slovakia. Generally the picture was favorable to the Slovak Republic and to the striving of the Slovak people for independence.

On the part of the Swiss government, the also was genuine understanding for the aspirations of the Slovak people. At the end of the War, the world situation and external pressures forced, however, the Swiss government to follow the political concepts of the Allies and to recognize Czecho-Slovakia. The end of diplomatic relations between the Slovak Republic and Switzerland occurred at the time when the Slovak government was forced to leave the capital city of Slovakia. A sort of consular relations continued until the very end of the War, practically until June 1st, 1945.

Excerpts from "Notes to Memoires."

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) See Vol. 2, 1944, p. 123-142. In Slovak I published an editorial in the daily *Slovák*, January 1st, 1944, under the title "Úlohy a problémy slovenskej diplomacie" (Goals and Problems of Slovak Diplomacy).
- 2) See also my articles: "International Recognition of the Slovak Republic," *Slovakia*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1951, pp. 23-31; "Diplomatic Documents on Slovakia's Declaration of Independence," *Slovakia*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1954, p. 3-12; "British Policy and Slovakia 1939-1945," *Slovakia*, Vol. X, No. 6, 1960, p. 50-61. These articles were published also in a German version in the periodical *Slowakei*.
- 3) See *Slovakia*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1952, pp. 38-41.
- 4) F. Vnuk, "Collapse of Czecho-Slovakia in Vatican Documents," *Slovak Studies III*, Cleveland-Rome, 1965, pp. 239-256.

- 5) See my contributions to J. Paučo (ed.) *Karol Sidor, politik, novinár a spisovateľ*, (Middletown, Pa. 1962); *Kalendár Jednota 1971*, p. 109, 117; *Kalendár Kanadskej Slovenskej Ligy*, 1968; *Slowakei*, Vol. VII, No. 1-2, pp. 87-100.
- 6) L. Lipták, *Slovensko v 20. storočí* (Slovakia in the 20th Century), Bratislava, 1968, p. 177.
- 7) See S. Falt'an, *Slovenská otázka v Československu*, Bratislava, 1968, p. 112.
- 8) Quoted from Kirschbaum, *Slovakia — Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe*, op. cit., pp. 1931-1932.
- 9) See Kirschbaum, "British Policy and Slovakia 1939-1945," *Slovakia*, Vol. X, No. 6, 1960, pp. 50-61.
- 10) Distorted information can be found in W. Shirer's book *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, by Gisevius and several specialists in East Central Europe.
- 11) F. Vnuk, "British Recognition of Independent Slovakia in 1939," *Slovak Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 6, Cleveland-Rome, 1969, pp. 49-73.
- 12) See A. Grébert, "Czech Intrigues Against the Slovak State," *Slovakia*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1951.
- 13) On March 29, 1940 Minister Zvrškovec sent a note to the Italian Foreign Ministry in which he stated that Slovakia was a neutral country and requested at the same time that the English Government be informed of this in order that England may recognize Slovakia's neutrality with all its consequences. See *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series 'D', Vol. X, reprinted in my book *Slovakia*, p. 281.
- 14) For details, see *Literárny Almanach for 1967*, p. 125-126.
- 15) Unfortunately, the funds were transferred to Prague in the summer of 1945. Two officials of the Slovak National Bank, Pazmáň and Viršík, who sided with Dr. Beneš, signed the transfer documents.
- 16) The failure of the attempt on Hitler's life and the outbreak of a communist inspired uprising in Central Slovakia in the Fall of 1944 created even a possibility for the interruption of the Swiss-Slovak relations. I received hints that the Swiss government would have welcome my defection to Dr. Beneš' camp and use it as a pretext for closing down our legation. On the other hand, Consul General Graessli tried to leave the responsibility for taking care of the affairs of the Consulate General to his subalter Consul Hans Keller. Both made after the War great careers in the Swiss diplomatic services. Graessli was transferred to Washington and later became Ambassador to Sweden. Keller also moved fast and in the 1960's was Ambassador in Peking.
- 17) See Vol. XXII, No. 1. At the end of August 1944, one of this writer's articles on the Federalist solution of Central European problems was published in the daily *Slovák*. Since it was a favorable analysis of Milan Hodža's book *Federation in Central Europe*, the German Embassy in Bratislava asked the newspaper to explain to the readers that the article was published by inadvertence and that the Slovak government and the newspaper did not agree with its contents.

## BEACON IN AMERICAN-SLOVAK LIFE

*Mother M. Emerentia Petrášek*

The uniquely fruitful life of a modest American-Slovak Sister-educator came to a regrettable close on January 30, 1973 when the deeply esteemed Mother Emerentia Petrášek quietly died in Danville, Pa., following a heart attack. Up until a few days before her death she was characteristically busy with the kind of work to which she was singularly devoted all through her life, even in her retirement: writing, promoting Slovak cultural interests, translating, encouraging others in cultural projects, and offering seasoned and reliable counsel in many instances.

Through it all she kept close to God, the Fount of all wisdom and grace, and like the prudent virgins of the parable, she too, kept her lamp of watchful waiting and prayerfulness trimmed and filled as she prepared for the unannounced coming of the Bridegroom to Whom she had dedicated her life by religious vows lived in convent discipline for 58 years since her first formal profession of religious dedication.

Mother Emerentia was born in a Pennsylvania hamlet called Sugar Notch. Her parents were of the God-fearing immigrant class that belonged to the Slovak parish of Our Lady of the Rosary in Ashley, Pa. They provided for Mother Emerentia and for her brother, who is now Monsignor Charles Petrášek, a sound Christian home training. After her elementary schooling in Ashley, Mary Petrášek was enrolled at Mt. St. Mary's in Scranton and later at Marywood College. She was among the early candidates who had responded to Father Jankola's efforts to provide for the education of children of Slovak immigrants even at the cost of establishing a new religious community for this purpose.

This American-Slovak congregation is known as the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius, and Mother Emer-

entia has certainly made remarkable contributions to its spirit and accomplishments. Whether she gave her service as teacher, writer, planner or administrator, serving in various capacities up to the rank of Superior General of over four hundred Sisters, Mother Emerentia always manifested the marks of inspired leadership and she discharged her responsibilities — great and small — with effective devotion.

If one were to single out an outstanding talent or characteristic of Mother Emerentia, it would be her wholehearted devotion to the spiritual and cultural heritage of her Slovak ancestry, coupled with a strong sense of devotion to the Holy See and to American patriotism. With her it was a matter of honor, a basic expression of justice and a conscience-binding fact of life to appreciate with filial gratitude all the gifts which the past offers us so that we might be able to enjoy the blessings and benefits of the present in which we live and progress. Hers was a clear-eyed vision of who we are, where our roots are, and what we can become.

In her role as teacher, Mother Emerentia effectively inculcated these attitudes in hundreds of her students who esteemed and practically idolized her. Although her sphere of action seemed to be confined to convent-life dimensions, her teaching and her philosophical outlook upon life and living touched countless other lives. Under the inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit this dedicated Sister achieved for God and nation and for fellowman so remarkable a harvest that an exhaustive study could and should be made in at least an appreciative volume summarizing her contributions to Slovak culture.

When Mother Emerentia assumed the office of Superior General in 1934, the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius were already a firmly established congregation but it was essential to take steps for the assured growth of the community and for general participation in all the commitments and interests of the Sisters. This consideration prompted her to devote much attention to St. Cyril Academy, the community's first high school which was housed at Danville and with whose foundation she had been intimately associated. Her first object of interest was the school's



bilingual literary magazine *Fialky* which she had initiated in the first year of the school's foundation. Under her guidance the students had produced an exceptionally creditable school journal and she had always inspired them to cultivate in it a wholesome degree of Slovak orientation. This was evidenced not only by the bilingual aspect of the publication but also by its selective content. Many of its articles are devoted not only to scholastic and academic interest but also to the interests of the American-Slovak community and to topics of Slovak history and culture.

The Academy, however, is but one of the schools under the direction of these Sisters who are engaged primarily in parochial schools, that were founded by Slovak immigrants in America. Over the years these schools have been fulfilling the mission that had fired the zealous ardor of Father Jankola. Mother Emerentia knew Father Jankola personally and she cherished the ideals to which he had dedicated his priestly life.

In her capacity as leader and administrator of a teaching body of Sisters, Mother Emerentia was led by the realization that the schools of American-Slovak parishes needed effective teachers who, in turn, needed effective tools like practical textbooks and teaching aids. In this awareness, she continued and she expanded the training of all teachers not only to meet state certification standards but also to include suitable instruction in the Slovak language and an appreciation of Slovak history and culture. She set a personal example in these respects, for she herself interacted with her Sisters in these fields, right from the early days of her secondary education, through her B.A. and M.A. college degrees from Marywood as well as through her subsequent professional growth. Out of practical situations and well-motivated discussions she embodied such useful material in several Slovak texts that she prepared for the schools.

In 1929 Mother Emerentia published her first formal Slovak grammar titled *Učebnica slovenskej reči*. About twenty years later she had an updated version of Slovak grammar called *Steps in Elementary Slovak*. From time to time she supplemented and revised these texts as the needs of the times and newer developments in grammar

and in language arts required. For the benefit of interested teachers and adults, Mother Emerentia developed and conducted a *Slovak Correspondence Course*. Her language books and lesson sheets thus became handbooks for instruction in Slovak.

But she had also noted that there was a need for books of Slovak hymns and folk songs and with diligent interest she compiled several editions of the *Spevníček*, a substantial collection of Slovak, Latin and English hymn texts suited for religious services. She also edited a *Spevníček* of Slovak folk songs. These collections of sacred and secular songs delighted many school children and they were also welcomed by their teachers and by many congregations and pastors as well.

When there was a noticeable decline in the study of Slovak in the schools, Mother Emerentia tried to meet the new challenge by undertaking a project to preserve at least some of the Slovak cultural heritage in America even though the language itself was dying out. With the cooperation of other interested Sisters, a number of Slovak religious songs were translated into singable English versions and they appeared with voice notation in two publications sponsored by the community. These publications are *Alleluia and Bethlehem Carols* (1967).

Her book length projects as well as her many articles, studies and reviews which Mother Emerentia contributed to a number of representative American-Slovak publications (largely to the *Jednota* weekly and the *Jednota Annual*) appear to have been but forerunners of her major work: history of the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius which is now completed and ready in manuscript form. When the work is published, it will be the crowning achievement of this distinguished Sister. An abridgment of the community history, which was released as *A Brief History of the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, proves that Mother Emerentia has prepared these annals with total devotion to her sisterhood and that, with the talent of a gifted historian, she was able to delineate in them all the forces and all the facets of development that marked the destinies of the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius throughout their apostolate among Americans of Slovak

extraction, especially in their teaching endeavors and works of charity on behalf of the orphaned and the aged.

The Slovak language as well as Slovak literature and history were Mother Emerentia's cultural predilection to her dying day. Even in her advanced years and in spite of impaired health, she devoted herself to the interests of the Slovak Book Department in Danville, where she filled orders for those who wished to purchase various kinds of Slovak books, and she maintained vital contacts with many Sisters with whom she continued to share much of her knowledge and information on current topics as well on Slovakia's cultural and historic past.

Two traits mark the life history of Mother Emerentia: her boundless modesty and her boundless love which is embodied in the master project that symbolizes her greatness in life—the exquisite architectural gem and the jewel of symbolic richness that are the unique features of the monastic church under her direction at Villa Sacred Heart.

Visiting with Mother Emerentia was much like encountering a religious from long bygone days. She personified humility and modesty of a rare degree. Hers was the spirit of prayer, of unfaltering diligence, of recognition of the worth of others and utter self-effacement. As many times as I had tried to turn a conversation to what she had already achieved or was endeavoring to do, she skillfully managed to re-direct our discussion to some other subject just to avoid drawing attention to herself. Most of her peer Sisters as well as younger members of the community considered her to be the leading intellectual among the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius and the outstanding educator in the specialized field of Slovak interests, yet she herself once pointed out a younger co-worker and remarked with unconcealed admiration, "There's the real intellectual of the Community."

This puts me very much in mind of Msgr. Andrew Hlinka who once made precisely the same kind of statement about Dr. Joseph Tiso and his place in the Slovak Populist Party. The great are always ready to recognize and to credit the merits of others.

The Sisters' convent church (which Mother Emerentia

modestly called a convent chapel) is one of the most artistic Slovak edifice in the United States, as is the entire complex of St. Cyril Academy and the motherhouse unit in Danville. In this church are housed all the exquisite religious features that bring inspiration to the visiting faithful and to the Sisters there. In it is also found a wealth of symbolic and stained glass pictorial representation that captures significant highlights of Slovak as well as American-Slovak history. In some respects, this church is a kind of supplement to the written history of the community that is also the product of Mother Emerentia's inspiration and talented skill. Only a spirit as deeply steeped in eternal truth and benignly drawn to Slovakia and the Slovak people as was Mother Emerentia's could have created so rich a contribution to Slovak history preserved in art forms. And this she was able to bring about because of her conviction that such a union of valid values is pleasing both to God and nation, and gratifying to her own community which she tried with all her abilities to build and develop, a community that had prospered and burgeoned so promisingly under her understanding direction.

Mother Emerentia has earned herself a lasting place in the history of Slovak culture, for she has been chosen by God to make the shining splendor of her life a brilliant beacon that can lead others on to greater things. From the heights of eternal glory may she continue to shed much light upon her Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius as well as upon countless other Slovaks in all walks of life who knew her or who knew of her, and who found in her diversified sphere of activity much inspiration and a unique sense of stability and security. May she be an ideal to many!



**THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA** is dedicated to works of charity, materially and morally aids Slovaks, here and abroad, who may be in need of such aid; it supports the American Red Cross, United Fund Campaigns and other American charitable projects.

## *The Declining Democratic Facade: Czecho-Slovakia 1948-1960\**

The two constitutions of Czecho-Slovakia enacted by the Communist regime were the Ninth-of-May Constitution of 1948 and the recent Soviet-model Constitution of 1960. Granted that these two constitutions of a Soviet satellite country are anything but the binding fundamental laws that constitute our Western idea of a constitution, still, the difference between these two documents epitomizes the extent to which Czecho-Slovakia's political institutions have been sovietized during the twelve years that separate the Ninth-of-May Constitution and its 1960 successor.

It is somewhat ironical to consider constitutions of communist dictatorial systems because in the first place it is enigma why these rulers care to have any written constitution at all. The decisions that arise, usually are made within the supreme party organization. Members of this body are in control of everything in every part of the country and in every segment of life. The communists insist on limiting its own powers, by elaborate systems of constitutional prescriptions and restrictions that are protected legally, but this is only to say that this system operates nominally.

The reasons which underlie the Czecho-Slovak communist philosophy of constitutionalism are much the same as those in Soviet Union and in other "people's demo-

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\* The purpose of the study is to examine the forced decline of so-called democracy in Czecho-Slovakia. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the wording of the Bill of Rights of both the 1948 and 1960 Constitutions. Rather than repeat in footnotes unduly on each page, it is simpler to state that all quotes on pages three to six are from the 1948 Constitution of Czecho-Slovakia which is given in *Slovakia—A Political History 1918-1950* by Joseph Mikus. Quotes from pages six to ten are from the Constitution drafted on November, 1960. More implicit than explicit, the Constitution forms are much more emergent in 1960 than in the twelve years previous.

cracies." It is one of the basic maxims of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the relations between the Party and the State that the Party makes policy, that it guides and controls but does not directly carry out its decisions. So, for that reason, the party has a machinery of government separation on the party apparatus and continues to maintain it until the State "withers away." Therefore the Constitution serves a function which the dictatorship of the proletariat operates. No political system, it seems, misuses the concept of popular sovereignty more than the regime of Marxist-Leninism, and Czecho-Slovakia proves to be no exception.

"The people are the master in this country. The people, liberated, politically, socially, and economically thus attain through a new Constitution a permanent guarantee of their full and real freedom." "The new Constitution guarantees that the will of the people will henceforth be the law of the country." Both the Ninth-of-May Constitution and the new Constitution of 1960 abound with references to the "people". As in the American Constitution, the introductory "We the People" formula is used and "the people" or the "working people" are designed as the sole source of all power. The reason for this illusion that the Communists try to create in that they alone are the servants of the people and worthy of complete confidence is probably the main reason for having this constitution.

But it is not our main concern here to examine and analyze the Constitution of 1948 and 1960 in totality or to find in what they differ or in what they are similar. The Communists themselves have stated, referring to the 1948 Constitution, that "our new Constitution will contain two component parts" from the West and the East.

It will be our concern to take a specific section, the Bill of Rights, and analyze the forms in the 1948 and the 1960 Constitutions respectively.

The crisis of the Third Czecho-Slovak Republic of February 1948 was unleashed by the problem of the new Constitution. The conceptions of the parties confronting one another on fundamental principles were in such opposition that normal political activity had been practically paralyzed by the Communist veto.

Communist legal technicians needed only two and a half months to perfect all of the details of the fundamental



law. On May 9, 1948, the Constitution was unanimously voted upon by the 246 deputies present. At the solemn session of the National Assembly in the coronation room of the Hradčany Castle in Prague, Prime Minister Gottwald declared that, without the Soviet Union, the setting in motion of the Constitution would have been impossible.

The Bill of Rights of the Ninth-of-May Constitution, was heavily loaded with Soviet-style additions and deletions, although, more often than not, it used the democratic wording of the 1920 Czecho-Slovak Constitution.

In the first chapter of the Constitution, all the traditional liberties of the citizens were enumerated; equality before the law, liberty of person, liberty of domicile, privacy of correspondence and communications, liberty of place, liberty of patrimony, protection of family and youth, rights to an education, liberty of conscience and confession, liberty of expression and protection of cultural assets, right to petition, right of meeting and association, social rights.

In line with the Soviet example, political rights were supplemented with social rights in the Constitution, such as the right to work, to leisure, to just renunciation of work, and to protection of health. While the inclusion of these social rights in the Constitution proper was generally welcomed by the people, the same could not be said of other Eastern admixtures which took the heart out of most of the freedoms that were so solemnly guaranteed. Certain discreet limitations were provided.

No one can be arrested if he is not caught in the act, except on a judge's warrant, written and justified. The warrant must be delivered at the time of the arrest and, if possible, within the following forty-eight hours. (Art. 3, §2)

No one is to be imprisoned outside of cases provided for by law; every person must either be released within the forty-eight hours following his imprisonment or else referred to the court or authority competent to carry on the proceedings. (Art. 3, §3)

For police agents who wished to effect a visit, a search or a confiscation of certain objects in the domicile of a citizen, it was sufficient "to present a written and justified order delivered by a judge or a public authority within the forty-eight hours following." (art. 5, sec. 2 and 3) These

warrants which authorized searches were to be issued, of course, not exclusively by a judge but also by other "competent authority."

The constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press was virtually nullified by a provision that left it to the state to decide who should publish papers and periodicals and under what conditions, as well as to determine "the manner and planned direction of the issue and the distribution of non-periodical publications." Nor was a situation made any better by the monopoly conferred by the state in the field of motion pictures, television and radio broadcasting. "Films, radio broadcasting and television become the exclusive domain of the State." (art.22)

Except for the generally insignificant right to petition, the exercise of civil rights was subject to further definition or regulation by the laws to be issued. Therefore, the Bill of Rights in the Ninth-of-May Constitution proved to be a bare skeleton that left the decision-making and enforcement to the communist-dominated national assembly.

The Communist Constitution draftsmen made it a Constitutional duty of every citizen to be loyal not only to the Republic, obliged to uphold the Constitution and to obey any call to the defense of the State, but also to "observe in all its actions, the interests of the State, to assist and maintain the furtherance of the national property and to guard against its being diminished" by the following which puts the citizen on his guard regarding any other than a materialistic philosophy: "No conception of the world, no faith or conviction can bear prejudice to any one, nor can it constitute a sufficient reason to refuse to fulfill a duty imposed by the law." (Art. 15, §2)

They were very efficient in balancing the right to work with the duty to work: Each citizen is endowed with the right to work; each citizen also has the duty to work in the interest of the community, according to his capacity. (Art. 26 and 32)

According to article 25, workmen were allowed to group themselves into a unified trade union organization in order to defend their interests. Since this organization had been in the hands of Communists since 1945, the

workmen had therefore only to accept its constitutional character.

Joseph A. Mikus in *Slovakia—A Political History 1918-1950* says it most pointedly and with grim humor, although no humor is really intended: "Furthermore, in fact, it was not possible for workmen to remain outside of this organization. A variety of administrative pressures were exerted to persuade the workers to join it freely."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, in order that the Bill of Rights not to be misunderstood, they added to it a broadly phrased warning that "Statements and acts that constitute a treat to the independence, the totality and unity of the State, to the Constitution, the Republican form of government, and the People's Democratic Order are punishable by law and the misuse of civil rights and liberties to such ends is inadmissible."

Furthermore they provided in a clause, so elastic that it could be stretched limitlessly, for a further restriction of citizens' rights and liberties in time of war "when events occur that threaten in increased measure the independence, totality, unity of State, Constitution, the Republican form of government and the People's Democratic order or public law and order." (art. 38)

In the last analysis, the Ninth-of-May Constitution was a Janus-like creature with one face toward the East and the other looking nostalgically to the West. Considering the circumstances under which it was adopted, it was a remarkably moderate document. Having just overcome their opponents and acquired absolute power within Czechoslovakia, the Communist leaders could have promulgated a full-pledged Soviet style constitution. Instead, they decided to display some unusual restraint and create a fundamental law in which Western elements clearly predominated over the transplants from the East.

In spite of Communist interpretation, the frequent use of uniquely democratic phraseology is surprising. This is mentioned in order to provide a better concept to the Bill of Rights in the Ninth-of-May Constitution. While there were many loopholes that vitiated the value of many of the Constitution's guarantees, especially in the field of

civil rights, there were relatively few positive provisions that could be said to infringe upon the basic principles of democratic rule.

The worst violation of democracy was in the overall, intent of the Ninth-of-May Constitution, in its interpretation, and in the way in which it was applied by the Communist leaders, rather than in the letter of the Constitution itself.

Despite the rumors which predicted its premature end, the Ninth-of-May Constitution remained in force for more than twelve years. It was not until the fall of 1959, that the KSC (Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia) decided to replace it with a new fundamental law. On April 19, 1960, the draft of a new Constitution was published as a special supplement to the Party's daily *Rudé Právo*. It was approved without opposition by a national Party conferences in July, 1960, and passed unanimously by the National Assembly on July 11, 1960.

The basic reason for the replacement of the Ninth-of-May Constitution with the new "socialist" constitution of 1960 stems from the regime's claim of a "virtual completion of socialist construction" in Czecho-Slovakia. The preamble of the Constitution proclaims that "Socialism has triumphed in our country!" "We have entered a new stage in our history, and we are determined to go forward to new and still higher goals. While completing the socialist construction of our country, we are proceeding towards the construction of an advanced socialist society and gathering strength for the transition to communism." (Declaration No. I, p. 41) And so with this change came a corresponding modification in the constitutional framework.

In the twelve years of communist control, life in Czecho-Slovakia had outgrown the moderate clauses of the Ninth-of-May Constitution. By 1955-1960, conditions were so outrageously different from what the Constitution had specified, that if a change in the constitution had not been implemented, it would be a farce providing occasions for open ridicule and disrespect.

The process of sovietization of civil rights, begun in 1948 was completed in the Constitution of 1960. While the civil rights clauses of the Ninth-of-May Constitution sound-

ed like a distant echo of the democratic past, their 1960 version carries an unmistakable made-in-Moscow trade mark. The Czecho-Slovak Bill of Rights like its Soviet model emphasizes economic and social rights.

According to article 21: All citizens shall have the right to work and to remuneration for work done according to its quantity, quality and social importance. Article 22: All working people shall have the right to leisure after work. Article 23: All working people have the right to the protection of their health and to medical care, and to material security in old age and when incapable to work and Article 24: All citizens shall have the right to education. Further on in this article is the statement that The State shall ensure citizens of Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish nationality every opportunity and all means for education in their mother tongue and for their cultural development. After reading in the beginning of the Declaration: "The two nations, Czechs and Slovaks, which created the Czecho-Slovak Republic, live in fraternal harmony" one cannot help wondering why the Slovaks were not mentioned in the above article also.

After stipulating the above mentioned articles on economic and social rights, the Bill of Rights on the other hand de-emphasizes civil rights proper. Thus it elevates above all the others, the duty and the right to work, as article 19 states: "In a society of working people an individual can attain the fullest development of his capabilities and the realization of his legitimate interests only through active participation in the development of his society, particularly through an appropriate share in social work. Therefore, work for the benefit of the whole is the foremost duty, and the right to work is the foremost right of every citizen." Interestingly enough there was no mention of workers right to join a union as in the 1948 Constitution.

Similarly, in guaranteeing basic political freedoms of speech and assembly, the 1960 Constitution adopts a Soviet stratagem of binding them all together in one notorious phrase "in conformity with the interests of the working people, these freedoms shall be guaranteed to all citizens." Also, in contrast to its 1948 predecessor, it no longer contains specific guarantees of freedom of association,

creative work, and scientific research. Nor does it include the limited habeas corpus provision found in the Ninth-of-May Constitution.

The Constitution provides for religious freedom but nullifies the practice of religion by declaring that "religious faith or conviction shall not constitute grounds for anyone to refuse to fulfill the civic duties laid upon him by law." (art. 32, §2)

We may thus conclude that the entire 1960 Bill of Rights is riddled with various restrictive clauses which negate whatever value the constitutional guarantees of citizens' civil rights may have been. These, of course, are found towards the end of the pages of the Bill of Rights. Among manifold duties, it imposes upon the Czecho-Slovak citizens such obligations as Article 34: "Citizens shall be in duty bound to uphold the Constitution and other laws, and in all their actions to pay heed to the interests of the socialist State and society of the working people." "Citizens shall be bound in duty to protect and strengthen socialist ownership as the inviolable foundation of socialist order and the source of the welfare of the working people, the wealth and strength of the country and finally to abide by the rules of socialist life."

This strong emphasis on the duties of citizens toward society is, of course, the logical outgrowth of the Communist concept of the subordination of the individual to collective interests. The Czecho-Slovak constitution-makers stood on solid ideological ground when they placed a basic clause to that effect at the very head of their new Bill of Rights: "In society of the working people, where exploitation of man by man is abolished, the development of the interests of each member of the society are in harmony with the development and interests of the society as a whole." Besides seeing this as being good Marxism-Leninism, we may look upon the clause as meant also to serve for the additional limitation of individual rights. As explained by a member of the commission for the preparation of the 1960 Constitution, the said clause "gives a directive in the interpretation of various provisions regarding the citizens' rights and duties in case someone would want to misuse his right contrary to the interests of the whole and to the detriment of the society."<sup>2</sup>



In 1948 the Communist party, yet unsure of its power, phrased a Constitution that, though impotent, promised freedom and individual endeavors. The constitution was not effected and the absolute power of the state, masked by phrases like "except," or "in case of," "however" and "only if", was nonetheless manifest.

By 1960 the Communist party, now firmly entrenched, was strong enough to issue a new Constitution, without the democratic trappings that were featured in 1948. Here the power of the state was confirmed and the use of democratic phrases was reduced to a minimum.

Even though there are liberties that are, if nothing else, only nominally expressed in the 1948 Constitution, nevertheless, they suggest a democratic form. There is in general, liberty of person, liberty of domicile, personal privacy and assurance of secrecy in correspondence and communications. In the 1960 Constitution there is no mention of these. In the 1948 Constitution there is the protection of family and youth, the right to education and liberty of conscience and confession and the liberty of expression and protection of cultural assets. The 1960 Constitution disregards these.

In 1960, motherhood, marriage and the family are to be protected by the State. Provision is made even to the extent that the state is to give special health care during pregnancy and confinement. Freedom of expression, speech, press all must be consistent with the interests of the working people. These freedoms are given mainly for the economic and cultural development of the state.

With the right of meeting and association provided in the 1948 Constitution, there was the so-called trade union organization which existed for the benefit of workers' interests but there is no mention of this in the 1960 Constitution.

In the matter of arrest within a specified time lapse in the 1948 Constitution there is no such reference in 1960. Offenders often were punished only by due process of law.

No longer was a person educated freely but by 1960, education was compulsory and was based on a scientific world outlook and on close ties between school life and the work of the people.

Finally in the 1948 Constitution the phrases that nullified each of the freedoms were dispersed throughout the Bill of Rights in a more or less disguised manner. But in the 1960 Constitution the Communist state no longer needed this subterfuge and the articles were lifted; the "guaranteed" freedoms are expressed and positioned obviously and boldly at the conclusion of the Bill of Rights.

Although liberal in statement, they are rather explicit in the actions they demand. "Citizens shall be in duty bound to serve in the armed forces" (art. 37) "Citizens shall be in duty bound to protect and strengthen socialist ownership" (art. 35) "The decency of the country and its socialist social order shall be the supreme duty of every citizen." (art. 36)

Having gone through this work then, and being familiar with the country itself, this writer finds it transparent that the democratic facade of the 1948 Constitution is stripped away from the sovietized constitution of 1960.

Thus the new constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Socialist Republic, as Czecho-Slovakia has been renamed after the Soviet occupation, and the manner in which the Bill of Rights contrasts with the Ninth-of-May Constitution of 1948, reflect with considerable accuracy the extent to which Czecho-Slovakia's political body has been sovietized in the twelve years that separate the two fundamental laws.

S. J. B.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) Joseph A. Mikus, *Slovakia—A Political History 1918-1950* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1963), p. 229.
- 2) Edward Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia 1948-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 182.

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## Youth, Our Hope

*Pavol O. Hviezdoslav*

O youth, our hope, the keeper of dawn's promises,  
you rule the maytime, you bank all springtime treasure,  
and blessed is your stewardship. To you I turn  
from pensive brooding, from distant gloomy vistas  
lightly silver-frosted now, and call: "Seize the keys;  
unclose that Eden shut to us!"

Your cheek is lovely, tinged as with the morning flame;  
your eye casts rays like early beams shot from the dawn;  
your soul is halcyon-skied—unspoiled by wayward cloud;  
you pollen-powdered lips are sweet with instant song;  
swift as lightning flashes is your mind.—Turn the keys!  
Reveal lost paradise to us!

Speed on with swarming bees, delight in fields fruited  
with gold-crested blooms and fair feasts of standing oak.  
Swiftly then return with viands rich and wholesome.  
When foul marauders come—ominous teeming clouds—  
and winter cold invades the land—too soon alas!—  
may our hive bear nor want nor ill.

And yet have time for sportive play—lark-free exult  
in flight, indulge your age. You grow in healthful play.  
Ho! for a merry tune! Delight in song and dance,  
celebrate your youthfulness; trip a lively step:  
skip, leap and whirl! Let trembling earth return your beat  
that joy may be at home with us.

Then back to work! (Here truly is the fuller share  
of life's purpose.) Strive manfully with giantlike strength;  
don chivalric gear; unfold your eagle wingspread.  
For what bold quest? —The free reign of truth, a sure fount  
of good, beauty's crown: autonomy of spirit.

O! restore our long-lost paradise!

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## *Ethnicity and Research*

### SOME COMMENTS ON MICHAEL NOVAK'S *THE RISE OF THE UNMELTABLE ETHNICS*

There has recently been an upsurge of thinking and writing in terms of ethnicity. The most recent, and perhaps one of the most persuasive, has been by the Slovak-American Michael Novak, in his volume, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*.<sup>1</sup> Novak's thesis is that there exists in America a large group of people that is of a unique ethnic background most likely Catholic, and generally "blue collar" or lower middle class. Novak contends that these groups made up of Poles, Italians, Greeks, and Slovaks constitute an important and neglected segment of our population, who have been historically exploited by the WASPS and are now being identified as right-wing bigots. Novak contends that it is now time to recognize the unique identity and composition of these ethnic groups and, hopefully, mold them into a viable political force that reflects their national origins and religious preference.

While Novak makes an important contribution to the ethnic literature, one often receives the impression while reading the book that something is lacking; that the ethnic concern is a springboard for certain personal ethical and political preferences. There is not, for instance, an in-depth investigation of any of the ethnic groups that is supposedly under study. For instance, no in-depth analysis is given of such a classic work as Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*.<sup>2</sup> Surely, these volumes would have provided some additional insight into the problem. What we have, rather, is a documented but largely anecdotal work purporting to penetrate into the "mysteries" of the ethnic psyche.

And, yet, the work does at least bring about an awareness of the fact that ethnicity may be an important contemporary phenomenon. However, by emphasizing the

reality of ethnicity, Novak leaves unsolved as many issues as he raises. This is the result of several factors: 1) the general methodological approach of the work; 2) certain ambiguities in terms of definitions, and 3) a larger vision of the ethnic reality (if, indeed, there actually is one). These points will be elaborated on below. Again, the work is a very valuable one but it could have been considerably strengthened if some of these factors had been taken into consideration. Perhaps some of these considerations will more appropriately be explored in future works on the subject.

### METHODOLOGY AND ETHNIC STUDIES

As I pointed out in a previous work,<sup>3</sup> one of the crucial handicaps facing ethnic studies is the paucity of adequate methodology. More accurately, one could argue that the methodology is available but has not been utilized effectively in ethnic studies. What I am opting for is a more rigorous use of historiography and especially the extended use of social science methodology. It is only through good methodology that the study of ethnic groups (and especially the ones cited by Novak), becomes systematized and incorporated at all levels of the educational process.

Prof. Novak's methodological approach is, I believe, broadly historical. He indicates (xv) that he will approach the topic in terms of "systematic theology" and his personal label of "intelligent subjectivity." While the former definition is perhaps not well defined, I take the second (and equivalent definition of "intelligent subjectivity" to be somewhat akin to Max Weber's idea of *verstehen*<sup>4</sup>—although there are some crucial differences. However, one does not know by the context whether this type of methodological approach is implied. While this may be a minor point, it does have bearing on the shape and direction of the work.

One of the major difficulties, however, lies in the structure of the argument itself. That is, there may be operating throughout the book a rather subtle logical fallacy that, by the way, plagues much of social science reasoning, also. The fallacy is called by logicians "the fallacy of affirming the consequent."<sup>5</sup> It involves valid and invalid forms of argument based on "conditionals" that have the



form "if p, then q." Thus, one of the basic arguments here runs something like this: "if there is a unique ethnic identity, then it is found in the existence of such groups as Poles, Italians, Greeks, and Slavs. But such groups do exist; therefore, they must exhibit a unique ethnic consciousness." The fallacy being that the existence of any or all of these groups does not give us a basis for concluding the existence of some special identity or consciousness.

Indeed, the existence of these groups would constitute a necessary condition for an ethnic consciousness, but surely, not a sufficient one. The important point here is that one then attempts to specify by way of evidence (or the inductive process), the probability that some sort of meaningful relationship does in fact exist.<sup>6</sup> While Professor Novak does, in part, fulfill this evidence condition, he does not extend it in any unique methodological fashion.

For example, four propositions are set forth (pp. 8-9) that are supposedly associated with ethnic identity. The first two propositions imply the necessity of examining one's ethnic heritage to gain a deeper insight into one's (supposedly) psychological makeup; and that this enhanced self-awareness will do no harm to this country's vision of the world, in terms of foreign policy (although I must admit I fail to see how the second proposition follows from the first).

The last two propositions, however, are the interesting ones since they are presumably direct effects of one's ethnic identity. Proposition three makes the claim that "persons who are secure in their identity act with greater freedom, greater flexibility, greater openness to others. People who feel inferior or unacceptable lash out in anger." Proposition four states "a politics based on family and neighborhood is far stronger socially and psychologically than a politics based on bureaucracy." Now these propositions are important in that they are the supposed consequences of ethnicity as studied through the perspective of "intelligent subjectivity."

But if we examine the last two propositions, the question immediately arises as to whether the assertions are meant to be "causative" in nature or, perhaps, correlational. It appears that they are put forth with the force

of causal statements: ethnic identity (consciousness) causes a healthier self-concept which in turn leads to (for instance) a unique kind of political commitment. These types of inferences are easily asserted but are substantiated with great difficulty. What is needed in these types of assertions, as we shall see, is either fairly strong historical evidence or, more pertinently, methods for operationalizing these assertions.

In the same vein, Prof. Novak attempts to substantiate his thesis by claiming that the groups he is speaking of are identifiable on at least three characteristics: ethnicity, religion, and social class position (pp. 14, 20). This, of course, is an important assertion since it defines the characteristics of the population under study. Although there are presumably seventy million Americans who can be classified as Catholic, ethnic and within the \$5,000—\$10,000 income range, this in itself does not mean that these people form a distinct group in terms of any of the three characteristics, let alone as being distinct in any political sense. There undoubtedly is a great deal of potential (economic, social, religious), but this does not mean it has become actualized in any specific manner.

In addition, one would need much more specific information on this group before generalizations could be forwarded. What is the specific ethnic breakdown? What is the median income within any given group and between the groups? How many of each generation are in any given group? How are they distributed in any particular city? What is needed, then, is a more specific delineation of this large "ethnic group."

Many other issues come to mind in this connection. Assuming that any given ethnic group can also be characterized as Catholic and having a median income of \$8,000, is there any way in which these (and other) variables came together to produce the ethnic consciousness? Thus, it may be the case that Catholicism may be more important than ethnicity or income in predicting particular ethnic attitudes. Or it may be child rearing patterns or perhaps occupational structure. For instance, do third generation Poles who are middle class and Catholic, hold similar political attitudes as blue-collar Lutheran (or Catholic) Slovaks.

It becomes readily obvious that what is needed is a more sophisticated methodology to handle some of these problems.

Likewise, Professor Novak's definition of an ethnic group (pp. 47-48) is much too vague. One is not quite sure what an "historical memory" is to begin with, but the concept is further confused by including nearly all things under the sun: instincts, feelings, intimacies, etc. It is difficult to see how some of these statements go beyond, for instance, Gordon's theory on assimilation in America.<sup>7</sup> The weakness in some of these assertions is that they may be perpetuating certain ethnic stereotypes under the guise of pointing out their uniqueness (p. 23). Does one really gain additional insight into ethnicity by stating that ethnic families have many family pictures in their homes and spend much of their free time with their families?

Or such dangerous generalizations as "Jews and Italians we know are highly dramatic people. Their self-consciousness is different from that of other groups (p. 38)." This may be an indicator of the uniqueness of different forms of ethnic "consciousness," but it is rather difficult to see how.

#### THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE OPERATIONALIZATION

Returning to an earlier point, the real need in Prof. Novak's work is some attempt to operationalize his key assertions. That is, there should be some way to state more precisely those propositions that are central to the work and to imply some possible means of measuring them.<sup>8</sup> When one attempts to do this, it becomes clear that the issues under study are indeed of a very complex nature. This approach does not mean that if one tries to look at an issue (or a series of issues empirically, let us say from a social science point of view), that there is automatically a depersonalization of the group under study. There may be but this is not necessarily the case.

In addition, if there is some "loss" in the sense that one cannot explore all the psychological complexities of any given group or individual, there is also a "gain" in that one can obtain more precise information on the group and use this information as a stepping stone to further research.

Now, indeed, this approach to ethnicity is a consequence of certain WASP connected attitudes about "universality" and professionalization, but I hardly believe this is the case. What social science research attempts to do (sometimes with poor results) is to precisely rid people of certain stereotypic notions (let us say about ethnicity) that have been prevalent for too long. Conversely, social science research can bring to light the uniqueness of any given group.

There are, for example, certain important conceptual clarifications that Professor Novak should have addressed himself to. One, first of all, would like some additional clarification as to the nature of "ethnic consciousness." If it is postulated as being important, and a causal factor in the development of other conditions (i.e., political power), then it should be capable of operationalization. How does one know if one has it? Do some groups have it more than others? Does it differ in terms of social class differences, for instance?

These are not moot questions. Rather, they must be answered if one is to make a case for ethnic consciousness. There are other statements that are in need of clarification which are also premised on the existence of this ethnic consciousness. For instance, the statement, "the rise of ethnic consciousness today is also due to disillusionment with the universality, too thinly rational culture of professional elites (p. 32)." And again, "the rise in ethnic consciousness is, then, part of a more general cultural revolution (p. 32)."

How is one to determine the relationship in the first statement between one's ethnic consciousness and the disillusionment with professional elites? There may indeed be such a relationship but the context does not clarify it, nor the possible strength of the relationship. In the second statement, it is asserted that there is some type of a relationship between ethnic consciousness and the more "general cultural revolution" (whatever that might be). In this instance, however, some directionality is implied: ethnic consciousness seems to be the result, or perhaps the by-product, of some larger cultural transformation. This may, once more, be the case but it would be extremely helpful if one could place such a statement in a broader

theoretical framework; perhaps the work of Emile Durkheim,<sup>9</sup> or Robert K. Merton's reference group theory.<sup>10</sup>

Without a general theoretical framework, it becomes increasingly difficult to place the above statement into any type of meaningful categorization. Although the issue of theory building is very pertinent to the discussion, it is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>11</sup>

## RESEARCH DESIGNS AND ETHNIC STUDIES

One possible way of gaining important information related to the study of ethnic groups would be to conceptualize the problem in another way. Again, this would be an alternative method of looking at some of the claims forwarded by Professor Novak. An important preliminary step would be to state an initial *dependent variable*. The dependent variable is the condition we are trying to explain.<sup>12</sup> It is the issue we are interested in examining, explaining, and possibly predicting from. The *independent variable*, on the other hand, is the presumed "cause" of the dependent variable.<sup>13</sup>

What we should then be looking for would be the relationship of the dependent variable(s) with the independent variable(s). If some relationship does exist, we can then better attempt to explain these hypotheses under investigation.

In a broad sense, the dependent variable here would be "ethnic consciousness." It is this factor or condition that we wish to account for as accurately as possible, because the assumption is that this condition is now responsible for many other conditions. But what is necessary to give added meaning to this concept? One would, first of all, attempt to define more precisely with some such statement as, "Ethnic consciousness is a psychological state X, resulting from Y and exhibited in certain types of behavior pattern in group Z." However, even if a definition of this type is possible, one is still under the obligation to give supporting evidence for it.

One way of providing for this supporting evidence is to first operationalize (measure) the concept. And this is where the task now becomes increasingly difficult. Put very

simply, how can one get a measure of ethnic consciousness? (We are not even asking at this point if there are differing degrees or amounts of it.)

What would be needed, then, is the creation of some type of instrument that gives an indication of this attribute. We might, for example devise a test that would measure conservative or liberal, democratic or authoritarian political attitudes, and then infer that those scoring "high" on, let us say, the democratic dimension would also be exhibiting "ethnic consciousness." (We are presumably administering the instrument to some ethnic group.) Of course, ethnic consciousness could conceivably be indicated by a large number of factors individually, or several kinds of factors, collectively. However, the issue is finally settled, it must be done for the research to proceed.

The same issues are brought to the fore when one attempts to identify and specify the independent variable(s). Thus the rise of ethnic consciousness may be directly related to 1) anemic strain within institutions; 2) increasing displeasure with bureaucratic means of doing things; and 3) the decrease or increase of religious commitment and so forth.

If one, for example, indicates that the rise in ethnic consciousness is related to increasing bureaucratic complexity, then some means must be devised to conceptualize bureaucratic structures (and then relate them to ethnic consciousness). To do this, one would have to specify, first of all, the organizational level that may be important. Are we speaking of bureaucracy in general, in society, or bureaucratic organization in terms of higher education and its effects on blocking admission to ethnic groups, or some other sense of bureaucracy? One would also have to assume that there is some way of measuring this bureaucratic effect.

### THE STUDY OF SLOVAKS

Let us now assume that we would want to test Prof. Novak's thesis concerning the rise of ethnic consciousness. How could one go about doing this? The problem becomes highly complex in studying one group. It would be a monu-



mental task to study the remaining ethnic groups either cross-sectionally (at one point in time), or longitudinally (over a period of time).

Let us delineate our problem, however, to studying the Slovaks, let us say, in Chicago. Let us further assume that we have developed a reliable and valid instrument that we can use as a measure of ethnic consciousness. The problem then would have to be approached in somewhat the following manner:

1. We would have to specify the population under study. Presumably, we would want to look at native-born Slovaks, as well as second and third generation Slovaks. However, difficulties soon arise: if both of your grandparents were Slovaks, but your father was Slovak and your mother Irish, do we include you in the population as a Slovak? Some decision would have to be reached on matters of definition such as this.

2. We would want a breakdown demographically of where Slovaks resided in Chicago. This information might be easily obtained for some native-born Slovaks and their children, but others would have to be located if we were to have a representative sample. Other information would then have to be gathered: importantly the age range of Slovaks and how many within certain age groups; other valuable information would include educational background, occupation, place of residence, income level, religious preference, and so on.

This demographic data would be a vital first step in describing the nature of our population. Depending on the size of the population, decisions would have to be made as to the most appropriate sampling techniques and the best methods of obtaining this information, i. e., questionnaires, interviews, a combination of these.

3. Assuming these conditions could be met, there have been developed within the social sciences certain rather powerful statistical techniques that could be utilized in developing this type of analysis. We would want to, for instance, use certain correlation techniques to explore the nature and strength of certain relationship. We would

want to see if ethnic consciousness is related to certain other factors such as education level, occupation, income, religion, and so forth. Again, we would want to see how "strong" these relationships were. We would also want to examine these factors within certain age groups, for instance, or between males and females.

Other techniques could be brought to bear on the problem, namely, those statistical manipulations which include regression analysis, partial and multiple correlation.<sup>14</sup> For example, if Slovaks in the thirty-five to fifty age group scored "high" on ethnic consciousness, and if these scores correlated positively with education, religion and income, we might want to ask if any of these variables are more "important" than the others; or how well, if taken together, do they allow us to say that persons having these characteristics will also have ethnic consciousness. Thus, it would be interesting to know what the influence of a person's occupation was on his ethnic identity while at the same time "holding constant" other influences, such as education and income. Or we may want to know how much of the "variance" in our dependent variable is attributable to the combined effects of age, income, religion, and education. While some of these techniques are fairly sophisticated, they are needed to gather accurate data on the composition of any given ethnic group, its self-identity and possible political or economic influences.

### SUMMARY

Being of Slovak ancestry, my personal feeling is that Professor Novak has done a service in bringing to light the existence of these ethnic groups that are usually not recognized as having a unique cultural heritage and identity. They, indeed, constitute a large proportion of the American population. It is further accurate to say that these groups have contributed a large share to the building of this country. There is no denying this fact.

My major objections to Professor Novak's thesis are as follows: 1) I am not truly convinced that there is a unique ethnic consciousness among the groups about which he is

speaking. While indeed there may be, I do not believe it is a strong *homogeneous* force either within any particular group, or between the various groups. In either case, there is simply not enough information to support the thesis one way or the other. 2) While ethnic consciousness may be an important social and political force in the seventies, we do not have enough evidence as to what constitutes it.

My own guess is that this "identity" may be merely a backlash reaction to certain groups of people who feel neglected and socially and economically exploited. Thus, the "identity" may be more a function of socioeconomic status than of a unique ethnic consciousness. I would venture to guess there are also many "non-ethnic" groups who are feeling the effects of exploitation.

3) What Professor Novak is describing is probably the pressures working class people are experiencing in this country, generally, while their ethnicity may be secondary.

4) Again, I believe the type of ethnic identity he mentions may be more strongly a function of those ethnic groups who maintain close geographical and language ties. But the rate of mobility (even the more limited mobility of blue-collar workers) is such that the viability of these close-knit groups as centers of ethnic identity is open to question.

5) We have very little information as to the ethnic consciousness of those persons in the eighteen to twenty-five year age group. Here we may have outward "ethnic identification" in the sense of taking courses, let us say, concerning one's cultural background, but I am not convinced that this constitutes a unique "ethnic consciousness." And 6) I do not believe the seventy million Americans Novak mentions will constitute a viable political force based on *ethnic* lines alone. The political coalition, if indeed there ever is one, will develop probably along socioeconomic and perhaps ideological-religious lines.

While being of Slovak heritage, being raised in a Slovak home, and having some limited facility in the language, I still do not see myself as having a unique "ethnic consciousness." While being subject to the "pressures" of professionalization, I do not feel that I have somehow

lost my "true" ethnic identity. My Slovak heritage forms an important part of my cultural past, but it does not completely determine my immediate present. My Slovak background is important, but I do not feel this entitles me to become an Ethnic Everyman.

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## *Ethnics Work Hard*

*Msgr. James T. McHugh*

Back in the early 60s, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan maintained that ethnicity would continue to play an important part in the social organization of New York City. They focused on the Black and Puerto Rican ascendancy and probably did not foresee the present emphasis on ethnic individualism as it now exists.

With the 70s, national and ethnic origin matters—even if it goes back to great grand-parents. But the lines are fudged. It's hard to distinguish ethnic groups from middle Americans, blue-collar workers, lower socio-economic groups. And Spanish-surnamed Americans, though the largest immigrant group with a different language, actually comprise four or more distinct groups.

However, following Robert Hill's analysis of the strengths of the black family, it's important to take a look at the family life of ethnics, middle Americans and Spanish-speaking groups. The criteria chosen by Hill are generally applicable, and the description can be drawn from the more popularly written description of the new ethnic Americans.

First of all, ethnic families show a strong sense of kinship. Family unity, family relatedness and inter-family cooperation show up clearly. Mike Novak, in the *Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* tells us that ethnics spend most of their free time with their families, and that many visit their parents at least once a week.

Novak also maintains that ethnics tend to have relatives as best friends. Weddings—and wakes—are family reunions.

Ethnics also tend to help each other. There's always a cousin or uncle who is a plumber, a couple of relatives to help paint the house, a brother-in-law who knows about cars. And the special jobs are taken care of on the weekends at minimal expense.

Strong work orientation seems almost to be the lifeblood of ethnics. Robert Coles captures this in his book on the middle-Americans. In his own style—accompanied by photographs by Jon Erikson—Coles has the people speak out. Joe and Doris—a typical couple—don't have too much time to waste.

Joe works almost all the time—at his regular job and at second jobs that he always has. Doris is busy with the house and children. Increasingly, middle American wives are taking jobs outside the home, and many of them give willingly to help the school, the church or the community. Middle Americans and ethnics reject the welfare state—and are much more determined to work than accept money from the government. They believe “that it's not right that a man shouldn't be able to earn a living for his family.”

There may be more rigidity in regard to rules and tasks in ethnic and middle American families, but this doesn't seem to weaken the family structure. Children are expected to perform some tasks, and teen-agers have generally been given a good degree of responsibility. It seems that role expectations of the young have broken down with the move to the suburbs.

There's a strong emphasis on achievement, but much of the expectation is transferred to children. Ethnic and middle Americans find their jobs boring and uncertain, and they hope to educate their children so that they won't be trapped in a dead-end job. Police and firemen—who once enjoyed status—are made the scapegoats for society's problems, and take a disproportionate measure of criticism from the nouveau riche. But most of the police and other civil servants are people of integrity, and do receive some recognition and praise from neighbors and friends.

Religious tradition runs hand in hand with ethnic traditions, though the young are less dedicated to any type of tradition. But the family engenders regular religious practice, and the Catholic school—which serves ethnics and middle Americans—tends to strengthen religious identification. Yet, the schools themselves are undergoing an identity crisis and the erosion is beginning to show through.



Novak—speaking as a revived ethnic—says that more and more he thinks in family terms. His Slovak, Catholic, middle income origin gives him a sense of identity. And Novak thinks that the politics of the future will be based on the family and the neighborhood.

Ethnics show the ability to keep the family together, and to find within it the opportunities to enable each member to grow and develop. Dissatisfaction with society or with money—experienced by the adults—doesn't poison the young. And Coles middle Americans retain a certain pride and sense of dignity, even though the going is rough.

It's fairly well accepted that the isolated, nuclear family failed to meet the challenge of modern living. And the nuclear family has already given way to new kinship patterns. We can expect a revitalization of the family as today's young families find new ways to adapt to the challenges of tomorrow.

## *The American Political Question*

*Edward M. Zelenak*

In May of 1972, at the Slovak League of America Convention in Chicago, Illinois, a direct play was made by the elected leadership of this civic organization to channel future efforts towards involving the membership in an active campaign to organize the Slovaks of the United States in more vocal political activities. Specific intentions were expressed concerning organizational efforts of the Slovaks within the two major parties in the precincts, wards, cities, counties, and even on a national scale. With that effort as a foundation, the able leadership of the Slovak League urged all delegates and officers to return to their cities and embark on a substantial effort at getting the Slovak people interested and eventually active in those very same causes.

The secondary goal consisted of involving even further the young American-Slovaks in first the Slovak causes and logically political activities at the same time. Both goals are ideally sound and require much more than parental urging to get the young out. It has been stated that the youth of today are more aware of the affairs of the world, of the ills and injustices, and that is debatable. However, acting on the assumption of that being true, Slovaks should renew in 1972 all previously intensified efforts at achieving a balance in both the political field and the youth movement.

1972 ended with the reelection of Richard M. Nixon, a Republican, as President of the United States. Whether one can say that Richard Nixon represents the beliefs of the American-Slovaks as an entity is debatable, yet his reelection signifies a coalition of numerous groups analogous to many of the ideal Slovak causes. Yet that presents a sort of predicament, because the labor-oriented Slovak in the urban American cities typically congregates and identifies with the Democratic Party. The scattered Slovak communities throughout the United States do not present definite figures to examine the voting pattern this past year by, yet, realizing the loyalty the Slovak holds to God, America and the Slovak nationality, one can assume that the Slovaks who were Democrats voted Democratic and the Republican Slovaks voted Republican.

President Nixon used the slogan: "Four more years" to lead his reelection campaign, and it is the advice from that campaign chant that the young American Slovaks in particular can take either a hint or begin to worry. We have less than four years now to once again enact the machinery to bring about the changes we desire in our country.

My own particular involvement in partisan politics has been with the Democratic Party. In 1972 I was elected to a position of precinct delegate from the city of Lincoln Park. That particular election, the May 16 Presidential Primary, was significant to the Slovaks of Michigan, because three Slovaks were elected as precinct delegates from Lincoln Park, and two were youths. In June I was selected as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach, committed to Governor George Wallace,

representing the 15th Congressional district of Michigan. The Democratic National Convention was perhaps the most representative body of all the facets of America, a feat that the Republicans failed to attain at their own a month later. The significance of the McGovern-Fraser guidelines employed by the Democratic Party offers more than a fair opportunity for all minority groups to seek representation in a political system, and particularly the young Slovaks. The youthful idealists ensured the nomination of George S. McGovern last July and a coalition of equally-interested young Slovaks and other ethnic-oriented youths can conceivably achieve the same goal. Thus I stress the need for young Slovaks to take part in our political structure, working for their beliefs and goals, not forgetting the goals of America and their Slovak elders. We cannot sit back and allow either of the two parties to become stagnant or indifferent to our needs. But one does not gain in politics by sitting at home. I have chosen to work within the Democratic Party, by my own selection. The basic principles of that party best correlate with the people I associate and my personal viewpoints. From the young McGovern supporters in Miami Beach I have taken notice. A Republican is president, yet the young Democratic organization behind George McGovern succeeded in nominating him as the Democratic candidate for president, a task pronounced as impossible only four months prior to the convention. By their movement we can learn and profit, and the same goes for the young Slovaks adhering to the principles of the Republican Party. Gone are the days of the great ethnic machinery in political wards (or so is evident in Detroit), yet machinery does not die, needing only replacement and oiling. The Slovaks can rejuvenate life in the political system, for it is from politics whence all good comes. In Michigan, one Slovak from Lincoln Park has been elected to the governing board of the state Democratic Party, and she is a woman. That in itself is significant. The Slovaks in Chicago, Cleveland and Pittsburgh have been equally successful. The youth, in seeking to lead America to a time of peace and prosperity, must regard the example of the elders. But it will be by their youth and their Slovak heritage that they succeed.

## CURRENT ISSUES

# *Proclamation Adopted by Slovak League of America*

*CHICAGO, ILL. — MAY 27, 1972*

Assembled in the Congress, the delegates to the 43rd Biennial Congress of the Slovak League of America, unanimously adopt this resolution:

1. The Slovak League of America will continue with all its energies to support, to advance and to spread the doctrine of self determination and freedom for all nations, as these are principles espoused by our own United States of America.
2. The Slovak League of America will continue with its cultural and civic programs, by means of its scholarships and other undertakings. Thus, we will better inform the free world, especially here in our own country, of the centuries-old aspirations and rights of Slovak nation. We feel these rights will be best enjoyed in some type of European federation or union in which the citizens of a free and independent Slovakia will decide their own destiny.
3. In furtherance of the above goals, the Slovak League of America will continue to work closely with all Slovak organizations, publications and institutions everywhere; thereby giving moral, financial and practical support to the aspirations of more than three million Slovaks torn away from their native soil, as well as to the downtrodden brethren in subjugated Slovakia.
4. As one of the founders of the Slovak World Congress, the Slovak League of America endorses the program of the Slovak World Congress and make available to it all its powers and resources.

5. The Slovak League of America makes special request to all Slovak groups to appeal to the Slovak youth—for they are our future—without them the Slovak cause, especially here in the United States of America, will not long endure.
6. Finally, we solicit the continued sacrifices and dedication of all Slovak-Americans and American-Slovaks, fortunate enough to enjoy the freedom and privileges of our great Country, so that in our hopes for peace to men of goodwill, our subjugated brethren, may in God's good time likewise enjoy such freedoms.

THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA

*Edward J. Behuncik*, President

*Joseph Paucó*, Secretary

## MEMORANDUM of the Slovak Catholic Mission in Australia

Director-General  
UNESCO  
Place De Fontenoy  
Paris VIIe  
France

Dear Sir:

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has proclaimed the year 1972 as "International Book Year". This is a worthy undertaking and deserves every good success, but it is to be regretted that not all of mankind is in a position to freely participate in it.

Article IX of the Charter of the Book states:

"The free flow of books between countries is an essential supplement to national supplies and promotes international understanding."

Contrary to this statement and the current year program of UNESCO is the practice of the Government of the Czecho-Slovak Socialistic Republic and the Governments of other countries under Communist rule and culturally dominated by Moscow. These countries discriminate in the exchange of books and printed matter in general. While the free world is flooded with propaganda and literature issued by the Soviet Block countries, there is great discrimination in the Communist countries against literature published in the free world, and into Czecho-Slovakia the entry of religious and the like books is actually prohibited.

This is being done in spite of the fact that Communist Block countries are members of the United Nation organization and are signatories of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The purpose of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization according to its constitution is "To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

The Slovak Nation, one of many enslaved by Communism, has a high regard for this noble objective of UNESCO but is prevented in carrying out its part in it. The purpose of this memorandum is to draw your attention to the plight in which the Slovak Nation has been placed by no fault of its own, and also to point out that the action required to remedy the ills of the systems dominating the life of Slovaks under Moscow supremacy is long overdue.

The Slovak Nation is the oldest Christian Nation in Central Europe. Its country is Slovakia with a population of 4,542,098.

This Nation is not in a position to exercise the rights as enumerated for every human being by the United Nations.

At the time when the most fundamental freedoms of



mankind were announced by the United Nations, the Slovak Nation was stripped of them by the power of Moscow which marked the end of the Slovak Independent Republic, and Slovakia was forcibly joined with Bohemia and Moravia in the Czecho-Slovak Socialistic Republic.

By this arbitrary act the Slovak Nation was in 1945 deprived of the principle of self-determination affirmed by the Charter of the United Nations. Chapter I, article 1, paragraph 2 reads:

(The purposes of the United Nations are) —

“To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.”

The Slovak Nation is not free to choose its form of government and is ruled by the totalitarian system under the banner of international Communism.

Consequently with regard to the objectives of UNESCO the Slovak Nation is not in a position to develop itself according to its Christian character and thus it is not free either to contribute to the cultural wealth of the human family or to enjoy its benefits.

UNESCO holds that for the promotion of its activities, three of the rights, enumerated in the Universal Declaration are of outstanding importance:

1. “The right to education (article 26)
2. “The right of culture (article 27)
3. “The right to freedom of information (article 19)”.

The Slovak Nation does not enjoy freedom to claim and exercise any of these rights.

1. Paragraph 2, of article 26 reads:

“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.”

Human personality can be fully developed when an individual enjoys the most fundamental freedoms such as:

freedom of speech,  
freedom of belief,  
freedom from fear,  
freedom from want.

The Slovak Nation enjoys none of these. The whole educational system in Slovakia is saturated with Marxism, which is contrary to the Christian character of the Slovak Nation.

The promoting of tolerance is unknown to Communism which is disseminating hatred and it is disrupting unity on all levels of life.

For Communism "peace" means the domination of private and public life according to the teaching of Marxism.

According to paragraph 3 of article 26, "Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."

The Slovak parents are denied this right for in Slovakia there is only the Communist system of education. In 1945 Slovakia had 1887 Catholic schools. All of them were confiscated by Communists and the children of Catholic parents (also other religions) were indoctrinated in Marxism.

2. Article 27, paragraph 1, reads:

"Everyone has the right freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."

In Slovakia culture, arts, science have been made servants of Communism and they have no value unless they are guided by principles of Marxism and unless they are designed for the promotion of Communism.

3. According Article 19:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

In Slovakia there is no freedom of opinion and expression. These have to be in conformity with Marxism.

Ideas and opinions are usually communicated by books, newspapers, radio, television and public addresses.

But in Slovakia, these medias are Communist controlled and are designed to promote militant atheism.

What has been said about the situation in Slovakia, applies also to a lesser or greater degree to other countries under Communist rule, and while Communist propaganda and literature is freely distributed in the countries of the Western Democracies, the frontiers of the countries under Communist domination are virtually sealed to the printed word from the West. This especially applies to articles of a religious nature.

This state of affairs is contrary to the spirit of the United Nations and is alien to the objectives of UNESCO. Its toleration would only strengthen the hand of international Communism and encourage all actual or potential dictators in their drive to enslave the rights and freedom of mankind.

Having this in mind, we respectfully request that:

- a) You bring the plight of the Slovak Nation to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization,
- b) the dignity of Slovaks be fully restored, so that the Slovak Nation can take an honorable place in the family of free Nations according to the spirit of the United Nations and aims of UNESCO.

We trust that you will assist us in our request that justice be done to the Slovak Nation and so fulfill the principles of the United Nations and aims of UNESCO.

Yours respectfully,

*Rev. Ján Krasňanský, S.V.D.*  
Chaplain to the Slovak  
Community in Sydney

*Ján Sečanský*  
Delegate to the Religious  
Section of the Slovak  
World Congress

Sydney, August 1972

## *Ethnic Studies at C.C.N.Y. and the First Course on the Slavic American Heritage*

The City College of the City University of New York has long taken pride both in the achievements of its students and in the leading role it has played in recognizing and adapting to new ethnic and cultural developments in New York's multi-cultural and multi-national community. For many years C.C.N.Y. has ranked with Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley in the number of its graduates who go on for doctorates. This year The City College again took a leadership role by initiating the nation's first college level course on the Slavic American Heritage.

Different ethnic groups at City College have long struggled for recognition and have broadened the college's involvement in the community by pressing for the establishment of new programs and courses more "relevant" to their ethnic backgrounds. In response to the students' demands at C.C.N.Y. in 1969, New York's Board of Higher Education authorized The City College to establish a Department of Urban and Ethnic Studies (UES) which would engage in both instruction and research. This department assists students in preparing for new careers in community leadership, public service, education, and work with voluntary agencies in urban areas.

In September of 1969 the new Department of Urban and Ethnic Studies opened its doors with 183 students enrolled in two courses in Afro-American and Puerto Rican Studies. The following semester courses in urban and community affairs were added. During the second year the curriculum was expanded to include the beginnings of Chinese-American and Carribean Studies.

From the beginning the Department of Urban and Ethnic Studies exhibited striking vitality and growth. The number of courses given by the Department rose from two (in the fall of 1969) to thirteen (in the spring of 1970) and then to twenty-three (in the spring of 1971). From

seven sections in the first semester it grew to forty-two in the spring of 1971, while student enrollment rose from 183 to about 1400.

By Fall 1971, UES had been divided into three separate departments: Black Studies, Puerto Rican Studies, and Asian Studies. At the same time a separate department of Jewish Studies had been created. It became administration policy that an ethnic studies department could be established only if the particular ethnic group consisted of at least 5 percent of the student population at C.C.N.Y. Only the four ethnic groups listed above contributed this much. Others would have to be satisfied with basic courses only.

At present, City College's four ethnic studies departments offer a total of over 120 courses; these are attended by more than 2300 students. Courses cover such varied subjects as "Asian Women", "Black Folklore", "Community Power Analysis and Research", "Political Modernization in Black America", "The Contemporary Puerto Rican Family", "Jewish Identity", "Jewish American Community", "Ethnic Leaders", "Field Work Experience in a Bilingual Environment", and "Creative Research in Urban and Ethnic Studies".

Although hundreds of Slavic-American students attend The City College, they do not constitute 5 percent of the student body. Nonetheless many of them are eager to explore their ethnic heritage within the context of college study. America's Slavic-speaking population constitutes one of the most significant "white minority" groups in the country. Today, when all minority groups are trying to assert their contribution to the nation's growth, very little has been done to explore this group's history, culture, social problems and its struggle to maintain its identity in the United States. Systematic study of Slavic-Americans and their heritage is long overdue.

There is a strong feeling of ethnic awareness among some members of the younger generation, there are also strong indications that the melting pot conception can not be maintained any longer and that America is beginning to recognize and appreciate the diversity of its ethnic elements in terms of a new cultural pluralism. As Prof. Michael Novak puts it in his new book, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, "It is time for a new cultural pluralism

and a politics that requires this new cultural pluralism—one that draws from resources other than Anglo-Saxon history and values.”

The first course (being offered at City College), called Slavic American Heritage, is listed among the College's core requirements and is open to all interested students. The course is presented by Prof. Peter Goy and is being attended by 19 students. It is a survey of Slavic American Heritage. It attempts to explore the history of Slavic Americans. The course encompasses all Slavic-speaking groups in the country (Belorussian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Slovenian, Slovak and Ukrainian, to mention a few) and includes a brief history of Slavs in the U.S.A. from the early XVII century to the present. It stresses their struggle for survival in the New World while emphasizing the participation of Slavs in American life and the role they have played in U.S. History. It expands upon current problems of identity and assimilation facing the younger generation. It takes into scope the Slavic historical background, characteristics of the Slavic population, economic conditions, religious conditions, education and contemporary literatures of the different ethnic groups.

One of the aspects of this course is original research and analysis made by the students on various aspects of our contemporary Slavic groups, such as: Polish Ethnic Press, Ukrainian Scientific Institutions, Contemporary Ethnic Leaders, Czech Community in New York, Contemporary Slovak Women in America, Rhuthenians in U.S.A., Youth Organizations and the Impact of Assimilation on Self-Identity, Bicultural Conflict and Synthesis, etc.

In order to facilitate and further the original research of the students and faculty, a collection of a Slavic Contemporary ethnic archive and library materials is essential. Therefore, we would appreciate a donation of materials such as books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, leaflets, films, etc, from all Slavic ethnic groups (Belorussian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Slovenian, Slovak, Ukrainian and others) in the United States, as well as their organizations and patriotic individuals.

We strongly believe that in the near future other colleges and universities, specifically those located in large



Slavic communities such as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, etc., will accommodate their Slavic residents and open the door to the vast richness, resourcefulness and abundance of Slavic American Heritage.

*Professor P. Goy*

201 Goethals Hall

The City College of the University of New York  
New York, N. Y. 10031

## What Did the Slovak Communists Want in 1968?

*Dr. John M. Kochik*

(A translation from the Slovak of Viktor Pavlenda's *Čo chcú Slováci* published in *Svet socializmu*, No. 32, August 6, 1968 by Obzor Publishers, Bratislava.)

"In January the movement was initiated for a democratic Czech and Slovak socialism which would be economically more dynamic, socially more just, ideologically more progressive, comprehensively more human,—making it more attractive than any existing socio-economic system.

The movement for this type of socialism is fast developing across the country which two peoples and nationalities inhabit. From the very essence of this movement proceeds its most basically inherent feature, namely, the very democratization of the relationship between the two peoples, between them and the nationalities living among them, and between the nationalities living side-by-side. However, should this essential element be disregarded the movement would become pseudodemocratic, despite the fact that one sector of society has been the ruling nation until now and is reputedly the most democratic.

Therefore, the Slovaks have the complete right to formulate their national claims, while the Czechs have the moral responsibility of seriously considering and democratically accepting them in the new democratic atmosphere of thought and action.

*What is the Basis of Our National Movement as a Natural Right,—A Right Suppressed and Ignored in the Past?*

1. A half-century should suffice for an elder brother to recognize the younger as thoroughly related, not adopted, without a stepmother, but having his same very own Czecho-Slovakian homeland. There could be no more fitting occasion to acknowledge this self-same truth than the fiftieth October-anniversary of governing together.

2. In its current history "something" always went wrong in the real autonomy of the Slovak nation. First, a word only about autonomy, later about all the remaining issues. We regard as our most natural and sacred rights the proclamation and recognition of the actual, genuine self-rule of our people. This presupposes the elimination, not only in words but in actual fact, of the present humiliating position of Slovakia, and the providing of it with an equal opportunity of realization in all aspects of social life.

3. The road to a new, just solution of the relationships between our peoples should proceed through a political-economic Czecho-Slovakian federation: an economically-rational and nationally-just federation. Thus, we desire neither that kind of federation which would crush the Republic through a rigid control of the greater over the lesser, nor such as would shatter the Republic by indecisive free choice, one yelling 'To the left!', the other 'To the right!'.

4. The Czecho-Slovak federation should systematically transfer the inclusive spirit of the democratizing process as such into the living conditions of both nations and into the relationship between them. That means that, taken objectively, henceforth it would insure more intensively the acceleration of the process of raising the quality of conditions in realizing the Czech and Slovak labor potential both on the job as well as in life. But, simultaneously—and this indeed holds true for socialist society—it must accelerate the process of making conditions of realization of the national labor forces approach each other, and of further equalizing the comparatively large discrepancies in economic and living standards between Slovakia and the Czech regions. In these processes—the quality of conditions of utilizing the citizen as such and the relatively-equal utiliza-

tion of both peoples—we realize the sense of an economically-rational and a nationally-just federation.

5. It is completely natural (especially from the experiences of their former development) that nowadays the Slovaks are not satisfied with promises nor with a referral to the good intentions of another even though he is one's very own brother, but they require the systematic guarantee of inclusive national autonomy in a federation.

We visualize the starting-point as in a nationally-just pyramid of authoritative governmental bodies; national governmental bodies with original authority—federal governmental bodies with derived competency agreed upon by the national governmental bodies.

6. We wish to establish a federation and the functioning of federal governmental bodies upon three principles: economy, flexibility and effectiveness, and national justice.

The realization of these principles are demanded so that federal governmental bodies would be numerically minimal with a small apparatus. We demand the nationally-just activity of federal governmental bodies in: the prohibition of majority-rule in legislative acts, the equal structuring of the administration and applicable solutions (that is, the prohibition of majority-rule, parity, agreements) in the federal executive governmental bodies.

We implore the second, Czech, party, that is the Czech citizen:—consider this matter in silence, without prejudice, and give an answer six times! It is not an expression most completely natural that from these six basic principles the Slovaks proceed, placing one brother on an equal footing with the other brother? Or, does someone wish to shout us down repeatedly with the renewed expression: “*Co vlastně ti Slováci chtějí?*” (In the original Slovak text this question is given in the Czech language and meaning “What do those Slovaks actually want?”, note that this question relates to the title and theme of the article.—Translator's comment.)

I will not cease being an optimist. I still believe that the answer of our Czech brother will be non-Antonín (A passible reference to Antonín Novotný, First Party Secretary and the President of the Republic, his régime, policies and character.—Translator's comment), different in substance from its present usage, and that it will be worthy to the development of the Czech people.”

## AS OTHERS SEE IT

The Church in Czecho-Slovakia is very weak, but it will continue to survive. There are 14 dioceses, but only two bishops. The government will not permit any more to be consecrated, so 12 of the 14 dioceses must function with a priest who serves as vicar for the diocese. The vicars are chosen largely by the state.

No Catholic schools are permitted in Czecho-Slovakia, though two seminaries are still functioning, one for Czechs and one for Slovaks. There are about 150 in the Czech seminary, not many for 10 million Czechs, most of whom are Catholic. There are about 200 seminarians in the seminary for Slovaks, in Bratislava.

About 3,500 priests are active. Another 500 must work as laymen, since the government does not recognize them as priests. Approximately 35 priests are ordained each year. Worst of all, most of the nuns have recently been confined to work as staff in mental institution. Had we a Catholic Anti-Defamation League in the United States, we could bring enough pressure to bear to stop such abuses.

Remember how Stalin used to call it "changing the guard" when he had a purge of Party officials? It still goes on. Three hundred thousand members of the Communist Party have been purged in Czecho-Slovakia in the past four years. Forty per cent of the writers have been forced out of their profession. Fifty thousand union members were purged. The remaining writers stick to the Communist line, attacking the clergy as "fascists" and "Nazi." A large percentage of the monasteries have been closed recently, and priests have

been forced into early retirement to make them scarcer.

Yet, strange as it may sound, the government is not suppressing religion altogether. Firstly, it is afraid to do so. Secondly, the Communist Party is split on the issue of how much to suppress religion. Some argue that it must be persecuted as fiercely as it is in Red China. Others say that if it is kept weak, it will gradually die out as Communism takes over. A third point: Communist leaders for the most part are becoming increasingly pragmatic.

They persecute religion only in a ritualistic way, paying lip service to Communist ideology. They persecute it mostly inasmuch as it constitutes a force outside of the total power structure they have allocated to themselves. Absolute dictators have always tried to persecute religion and weaken it to the point where it has no power, unless they have the power in their hands.

The police are not much in evidence in Czecho-Slovakia. Nor are there Russian soldiers on the street, but everyone knows there are 80,000 Soviet troops stationed just 30 miles away. Everyone remembers how Moscow sent in 650,000 troops in a great hurry four years ago, to crush the "human face" type of Communism Alexander Dubček had tried to introduce.

One of the first buildings I saw in Prague was a training school for future members of the Party. It is the Party members and they alone who get all the good jobs and who run every facet of government. Membership is limited to those the Party invites, such as sons or friends of Party members, or those who do not practice their

religion and for other reasons appeal to the ruling class. Only Party members can be candidates in a system where to be nominated by the Party is a guarantee of "election." Only Party members can hold trusted position. Only they have all the power.

Communists argue that if the whole world were Communist, there would be no wars. But Czecho-Slovakia is a direct refutation of that theory. The country was brutally invaded in 1968 when it tried to humanize its type of Communism. Nor is it true that Communism lessens crime.

Any visitor to Czecho-Slovakia sees prostitutes walking the main streets at night. Cars are often stripped or stolen. Drugs are not a problem, though they are in Moscow. Alcohol, which we often fail to think of as a drug, is a huge problem in all those countries. Stealing stocks and bonds is not a problem. But stealing from the state is on a much greater scale than anything we can imagine. "The whole system," I was told repeatedly, "is built on stealing."—*Father Dan Lyons*. Twin Circle, November 10, 1972.

VIENNA (AP) — Travel for a Westerner may be occasionally troublesome, but this is nothing compared to the battle with red tape an East European traveler encounters, if he just goes from one Communist country to another.

The Slovak Assn. of Journalists recently issued what it called "a recipe for avoiding difficulties with passport and customs control" which lists so many things to do that it might in fact discourage anybody from making the trip in the first place.

The association's biweekly publication, listed the regulations applying in the various East Europe-

an countries, which in the case of the Soviet Union alone covered 21 lines.

The hard-core measures are nearly the same in every East European country. Each wants to know who crosses the border, watches that not too much of its national currency is taken out, nor rare consumer goods which the East European countries prefer to sell in the West for hard currency.

Red tape starts at home.

Slovaks have to file customs and foreign currency declarations; in some cases they must also have exit permits. Anyone intending to take a gift exceeding \$20 along must obtain permission.

Anyone wanting to visit the Soviet Union or Poland must have a visa. Joining a tour of a state travel agency makes this relatively simple. But anyone who wants to visit privately must have an invitation authenticated by a Soviet militia.—*Werner Olimann*

WAKE FOREST, N. C. (NC)—Ethnic Americans are "neither angels nor devils" but an unusual combination of political liberals and old fashioned patriots, according to Father Andrew Greeley.

The ethnic "believes that progress is possible and that change is desirable," Father Greeley told a conference here on Civil Religion in America.

"If he is less likely now than he was 20 years ago to describe himself as a liberal, the reason is not that he is any less committed to change or any less sympathetic with the oppressed but simply that he has much less confidence in American liberalism now."

The ethnics, Father Greeley said, "like the United States of America. The flag, the 'Star Spangled Banner,' the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the

Capitol building, the office of the presidency—all of these are admired symbols which together sum up the gratitude the ethnic feels for what the United States has made possible for him: freedom, dignity, comfort, security—things which his ancestors in the countries from which they fled or were driven would not have dreamt possible.”

Father Greeley, director of the University of Chicago's Center for the study of American Pluralism, said that members of ethnic groups are “less likely” than other Americans to favor the Vietnam war and, despite a tradition of anti-communism, they do not object to reapproachment with China or the Soviet Union.”

Members of ethnic groups, descendants of the most recent waves of European immigrants, have not been in America “long enough or achieved that level of security where it becomes easy to hate and despite the United States,” the priest-sociologist said.

“An appeal to the conscience of the ethnic against war and against injustice that is based on American patriotism has much better chance of being effective than one based on denunciation of America as a sick society, burning American flags, and ridiculing American institutions,” Father Greeley said.

Ethnics want to eliminate “hunger, misery, poverty, bad housing, bad education, and every other sort of social ill wherever it can be found in America,” he said. “They supported the New Deal social reforms and have continued to vote for liberal congressional candidates who have extended and enlarged the New Deal.”

At the same time, Father Greeley said, ethnics place “a strong emphasis on the freedom and dignity of the individual person. A person

should not be messed with or hassled by large bureaucratic agencies, be they governmental, labor, business, or ecclesiastical.”

Father Greeley spoke at a conference sponsored by the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary here and the American Jewish Committee.

PITTSBURGH—They aren't the Same Old Steelers anymore. Just ask Gerela's Gorillas, Franco's Italian Army or the newly formed *Dobrá Shunka* fan club.

All those have been spawned by the success of the Pittsburgh Steelers, making a strong bid for the first division title in their 40-year pro football history.

Gerela's Gorillas favor place-kicker Roy Gerela, and rookie running sensation Franco Harris is the honorary commander of Franco's Italian Army. But what about *Dobrá Shunka*?

“That's Slovak for ‘Great Ham,’” says Steeler linebacker Jack Ham, whose ancestors were European.

“They're a great bunch of guys,” Ham added. “Most of them live over in Port Vue, same as Gerela's Gorillas. You can't beat enthusiasm like that.”

Ham knows first hand the degree of Steeler mania. He's probably the only pro football player ever to get an ovation during a church sermon.

“It happened at evening Mass the Sunday we beat Kansas City,” recalls Ham, who attends St. Bernard's Roman Catholic Church in suburban Dormont.

The monsignor was sermonizing on parish matters when suddenly he decided to switch topics and proclaimed from the pulpit, “How about those Steelers!”

During the ensuing praise, he asked if Steeler vice President Dan



Roomey, a member of the parish, was in attendance. Rooney wasn't but Ham was and one of the faithful stood up and introduced him as "Jack Ham—the Steelers great linebacker."

"It was really something," recalls Ham. "They gave me a big ovation just like we were out at the stadium, I even stayed after Mass and signed autographs."—*(Associated Press)*



Astronaut Gene Cernan is of Slovak origin. His grandfather migrated to the U.S.A. from Vysoká, Kysuce region, Slovakia

## BOOK REVIEWS

## BOOKS ON SLOVAKIA

*Reviewed by J. M. Kirschbaum*

*The Czechoslovak Reform Movement* by Galia Golan, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1971, Bibl., 334 pages.

Among the dozens of books on the de-Stalinization and liberation movement in Czecho-Slovakia, the present book by Galia Golan, Lecturer in Political Science and Russian Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is one of the most objective and best researched works. Whereas many authors of books on the reform movement in Czecho-Slovakia viewed the situation from Prague and dealt with the events mostly on the basis of Czech sources (see our reviews in *Slovakia* for 1970 and 1971, and in *Slavica Canadiana* A.D.1970), the present book does not suffer from any anti-Slovak bias. The author objectively analyzed the beginnings of the reform movement from 1963 to 1968, and recognized the role which was played by Slovak writers, journalists and politicians. As a result, the picture is quite different from many other books on the subject. Because except for the books by Skilling, Shawcross, Fejtő, Lungi and Ello, the reform movement in Czecho-Slovakia and especially its last phase, was ascribed by Western observers and analysts to Czech intellectuals and several books were published under the title: *The Prague Spring*. In some instances, even Dubček's role was played down and other Slovaks were omitted or ignored.

Galia Golan's book is, however, objective not only from this point

of view. It also put into proper perspective the economic as well as political and national reasons for which young Slovak intellectuals, all of them staunch supporters of the Communist Party, began to rebel against the Stalinist system. There is no doubt that economic as well as political disparity between Slovakia and the Czech lands became intolerable even to Slovak Communists. The spark for the moment came, however, from the writers and intellectuals who craved for more freedom and could not tolerate the injustice committed on so-called Slovak "bourgeois nationalists" who were freed from prisons, but not rehabilitated. The Czech intellectuals joined the movement three or four years later, in 1967 and 1968, and gave it the weight which paved the way for the events of 1968. Unfortunately, it would appear that they not only helped the movement to get momentum, but also pushed it to the extreme and in the end gave the Soviets a pretext for the invasion.

The book is an excellent survey of the whole period from 1963 to 1968. It is divided into six chapters. In its Introduction the book surveys the years 1956-1962 and then it analyzes the revolt of the intellectuals, the economic reforms, reforms in the social cultural spheres, political reforms, the events of 1967 and 1968. The author paid special attention to Slovaks in the second chapter, as well as in Chapters V and VI. In one chap-

ter the author analyzes specially the "pressures from the Slovaks and the youth." In the chapter on economic reforms, the book gives credit to the efforts of Dr. Eugen Loebl and to his plan for reforming the bankrupt economy. Other Slovak reformers, either in economic fields or in the political structure of Czecho-Slovakia are equally mentioned and so are Slovak periodicals, especially *Kultúrny Život* and *Slovenské Pohľady*.

Galia Golan seems to understand much better than other specialists in Eastern Europe the basic issues which separate Slovaks and Czechs and which dramatically came to the surface during the years 1963-1968. Trying to present an objective picture of the whole situation she avoided simplifications and, therefore, her book will remain as one of the best researched and scholarly written analysis of the attempts by Slovaks and Czechs to give Communism a human face.

Wolfgang Venohr: *Aufstand für die Tschecho-Slowakei* (Uprising for Czecho-Slovakia), Christian Wegner Verlag, Hamburg, 1969, bibl., ill., doc., 372 p.

The War period of the Slovak history has been avoided for a long time in German historiography. Many more books were published in English than in the German language. When finally books on Slovakia appeared in Germany, they were written by historians coming not from Germany but from other Eastern European countries (Ludwig von Gogolak, Jorg K. Hoensch, Almar Reitzner) and the backgrounds of the authors influenced their attitudes and interpretation of the dramatic period of modern Slovak history.

The book under review is the first one by a Western writer on the uprising which occurred in Slo-

vakia in the Fall of 1944 and was presented until now only by memoirs or books written by the Communist participants, except for one volume of documents edited by V. Precan.

Venohr's book does not agree completely with the Communist interpretation and sheds a new light on the bloody and controversial rebellion which was at least three times re-interpreted by the Communists themselves. There is no note on the author of the book and of his credentials. The work is comprehensive and refers not only to many printed sources but also to personal interviews with the Communist participants and officers of the Slovak army involved in the uprising. Interviews with non-Communist participants, even though some of them live in Germany, are missing. In view of the fact that the non-Communist organizers and participants of the uprising did not publish until now their version of the political aims and of the part played by the Slovak army or non-Communist population, Venohr's book fills an important gap.

It is, however, very hard to say how far his interpretation is free of any bias, in spite of the fact that he states in his epilogue that he tried to avoid an ideological approach. As he says, the aim of his book was to "help the Slovaks to gain their international respect and develop brotherly relations built on equality of rights with the Czechs." At the same time the book should "serve to create a better understanding between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia."

Venohr's presentation of the Slovak Republic and his survey of Slovak history would indicate that he endeavored to look at Slovaks without the usual bias which we can find in some Western and

Communist history books. Throughout the book, there is an effort to avoid the negative attitude towards the Slovak struggle for independence. There is no a priori denial of bonafide actions and goodwill on the part of the Slovak politicians and in one instance the author even states that from the scientific point of view nobody can seriously speak about Fascism in Slovakia (p. 30).

Nevertheless, on many pages of the book he uses the term "Klerikal Faschismus" (clerofascism) coined by the Communists. Venohr accepted as valid the statement by President Dr. Tiso that the existence of the Slovak Republic will be of great importance for the future generations, but in his view the uprising is even of greater importance for historical claims of Slovak national identity. This is, of course, a debatable view but it sums up Venohr's attitude towards the uprising. From this premise, the author approached all the events and persons involved in the history of Slovakia from 1938 to 1945.

The volume is composed of two parts. In the first part he writes about the independent Slovakia, the Slovak army until 1943, about the political opposition; the unwanted partizan war; the military conspiracy; the memorandum by General Čatloš and the mission to Moscow by Šmidke.

The second part is entitled: "Occupation and Uprising." It contains six chapters in which the author speaks about military events of the uprising from the time Germany sent two divisions to fight the Soviet partizans. Their arrival, however, triggered off the uprising of the Slovak army units and led to events of historical importance. Venohr describes the battles in various parts of Slovakia with the

Slovak army which was preparing an uprising against Germans independently of the Soviet partizans, as well as the political aims of the whole uprising. It is mainly in this part of the book where the author differs from the Communist historiographers but it is to be regretted that he did not confront statements of the people with whom he had interviews with the writings and opinions of the non-Communist participants who live in the West. He also failed to mention that the Communists originally aimed at establishing a Slovak Soviet Republic and not Czechoslovakia.

In spite of this, Venohr's description and evaluation of the events seems to be much more objective and closer to the historical truth than the one-sided interpretation published in today's Slovakia by Communist writers, or by some Western historians who adopted the Czech or the Communist interpretation. His stress on the divergence of views between the Communists and military leadership on one side and the Beneš Government on the other sheds a new light on the uprising whose final history is still to be written. The memorandum and the attempts by the Minister of National Defense of the Slovak Republic, General F. Čatloš, to come to an agreement with Moscow to save Slovakia of occupation is another important revelation in the book, since it has not been taken into consideration by Western historians. A number of documents attached to the book also enhance its value.

However, in spite of Venohr's endeavor to be objective towards the leaders of the Slovak Republic, there are, of course, still some inaccuracies in his book which could have been corrected if the author

had interviewed the émigré Slovak historians or political leaders. His survey of Slovak history also suffers accepting the Czech rather than the Slovak interpretation of the Slovak past. There is no doubt that Slovakia suffered a sort of social decapitation and lost their leading classes to Hungarian assimilation and policy. There was, however, Slovak national consciousness a long time before Štúr's period and we can safely say that Slovak national renaissance started in the 17th century and the Bernolák group, which is not even mentioned by Venohr, deserves credit for the national awakening of the Slovak people. Economically, Slovakia also presented a different picture. Even with these shortcomings Venohr's book is, however, much closer to the historical facts and objective interpretation of the War period in Slovak history than any other work published in the West, except for books written by Slovak exiled historians who defend the right of the Slovak people to self determination and independence.

*Slovak Studies*, Volume VIII and IX, Historica 5-6, Slovak Institute, Cleveland-Rome, 1969, pp. 216 and 231, bibl., ill.

The recent volumes of *Slovak Studies* are an additional contribution to the research into the Slovak history in the English language. In comparison with the previous volumes, the contributors are mostly from the younger generation and several of them from among Slovak intellectuals educated at American universities. For this reason, both volumes also contain essays on American Slovaks. In view of the fact that there is no history book on the achievements and contribution of American Slovaks to Slovak national develop-

ment, these contributions are of particular value.

The first volume contain four contributions: "The Role of American Slovaks in the Creation of Czecho-Slovakia, 1914-1918," by M. M. Stolárik; a study "Education in Slovakia" by M. I. Angelovic SS.C.M.; "The Quadrennial Reports of the Bishops of Nitra to Rome," by E. Bouydosh; and "A Short Survey of the Eastern Catholic Churches," by Prof. M. Lacko, S.J.

To the second volume contributed Msgr. J. Rekem "Selected Chapters from the Slovak Cultural History"; F. Vnuk, a study "British Recognition of Independent Slovakia in 1939"; M. Tybor, "Father Matthew Jankola (1872-1916)"; J. J. Karch, *Slovakia Under Communism, 1944-1964*"; Prof. M. Lacko, "A Historical Song from Eastern Slovakia" and "Camaldulose Red Monastery—Červený Kláštor."

All contributions are on the level of academic papers and point to new aspects and new knowledge of the Slovak past. From the historical point of view, the most relevant is, of course, the well researched and well written essay on British recognition of independent Slovakia in 1939 and Stolárik's M.A. thesis on the role of American Slovaks in the creation of Czecho-Slovakia, while from the cultural point of view the thesis on education in Slovakia by Sister Angelovic and the essay on Jankola by Sister Tybor deserve particular mention.

F. Vnuk's research into the British archives brought forth some very interesting information on the attitude of Great Britain towards Slovakia and many unknown documents which prove that the Government of Great Britain and British diplomats had quite a different view of the Slovak problem than the Czech exiles, headed by Dr.



Beneš, made us believe and smuggled into Western historiography. It would appear from Vnuk's study that Great Britain was neither eager to recognize the Czecho-Slovak government in exile, nor believed to adverse reports on Slovakia, and that Slovaks needed only some good diplomats in London to put Slovakia and her striving for independence into a different light in the West. Vnuk certainly deserves recognition for studying the British archives because our knowledge of Great Britain's attitude towards Slovakia was very limited until now.

Mšgr. Rekem's contribution "Selected Chapters from the Slovak Cultural History" is a concise view of Slovak cultural development from the Middle Ages to the Bernolák period, written on the pattern of his previous studies either in English, German, or Slovak and, as usual, well documented. The essay would deserve to be distributed as a separate publication.

M. Stolarík's contribution to the volume is an M. A. thesis and as such indicating that we can expect from the young historian further valuable contribution to the exploration of the history of Slovaks in the United States. His thesis is well balanced and based on research into the unknown as well as published sources, and enhanced by a useful bibliography.

There is no need to write about Prof. Lacko's contribution since he has been an accepted authority on the subjects he writes about and his contributions are marked by thorough knowledge and originality. E. Bouydosh's contribution is a continuation of his previous research and writings and of interest for Slovak religious past.

From the Slovak point of view the contributions by the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, M. I. An-

gelovic and M. Tybor deserve special mention. It would seem that both contributions are M. A. theses or parts thereof. They are valuable not only by their contents but also by their originality and research into the unknown and unpublished sources. In view of the fact that scholars in today's Slovakia are not allowed to extend their research into the history of Slovaks abroad, both contributions are of particular interest for Slovak historiography.

The essay by J. J. Karch "Slovakia Under Communism, 1944-1964" is a well written account but too short to give a complete picture. It would be useful if this theme could be enlarged in *Slovak Studies* by the author or other Slovak specialists in modern Slovak history.

To conclude, we can say that both volumes honorably represent the efforts of Slovak intellectuals in the West to fill the gap of knowledge of the Slovak past among Western historians and students of Central Eastern Europe.

*L'oecumenisme at le panslavisme de l'abbé JEAN PALARIK*, par Joseph Vavrovic; Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Arts de l'Université d'Ottawa en vue l'obtention du Ph.D. en Etudes Slaves, Ottawa, 1972, 470 p.

The thesis under review is a mature scholarly work, apparently the result of a long and thorough research into the archives and published sources pertaining to the historical background and to the activities of Ján Palárik, whose dramatic works survived until the present time, but whose ecumenism was forgotten and his panslavic ideas were over-shadowed by his famous countrymen: Ján Kollár and Ľudovít Štúr. In view of the present trend in the Catholic



Church, and the misuse of the idealistic panslavism by the Soviet Union, Palárik's 19th century ideas, for which he suffered persecution from the ecclesiastic superiors and was scorned by adherents of panslavism based on Russian leadership, are actual and timely and the thesis is, in many ways, an original work.

The thesis is divided into three parts: historical background of the activities of Ján Palárik; the ecumenism of Palárik, and the panslavism of Palárik. In the first part the author of the thesis discusses the nationalist wave in Hungary after the Congress of Vienna, the insurrection in 1848 and the period of absolutism of Bach and the division of the monarchy into the Austrian and Hungarian part. In part two, the thesis deals with the origins of Palárik's ecumenism, his activities as editor of the monthly *Cyrill a Method* and with the conflict with his ecclesiastic superiors. Part three gives a survey of the origins of panslavism and draws a distinction between Palárik's idea of panslavism and that of Ján Kollár.

Palárik's ecumenism stemmed from his concern for the Slovak people who were menaced by Magyarization and weakened by religious division. The Slovak Catholic clergy made many efforts towards uniting with Slovak Protestants in cultural and literary activities even before Palárik's time. Encouraged by J. M. Hurban's work on the union of Slovak Lutherans with Calvinists in Hungary (*Unia cili spojeni Lutheranu s Kalviny v Uhrach*, Budin, 1846, 240 p.), Palárik took, however, a step further. He recommended also a religious union, basing his views on similar tendencies of Catholic theologians in Germany and France and insisting on it for patriotic rea-

sons. Palárik developed his national ecumenism in a series of articles published in the monthly *Cyrill a Method* of which he was editor. Supported by several other young Catholic clergymen who advocated not only the union with Slovak Protestants but also far reaching reforms of the Catholic Church in Hungary, Palárik came into conflict with the hierarchy and especially with the Archbishop-Primas Scitovský. His progressive and democratic ideas gained him, nevertheless, many adherents amongst Slovak Catholics. Unfortunately, he failed to obtain an adequate response on the part of Slovak Lutherans and after Palárik had to submit to the Church authorities, the movement for uniting Slovaks in their religion slowly died down.

In Msgr. Vavrovič's analysis it was nevertheless an interesting movement on the part of Slovak Catholics and Palárik emerges from the thesis as a well educated idealistic patriot concerned about the progress of the Slovak people and about the reform in the Catholic Church on much similar lines as have been accepted by the last Vatican Council. In his series on the necessity of union of Catholics with Lutherans in Slovakia, he referred to well-known contemporary theologians and fought for his ideas in prose as well as in verses to make an impact on the leaders and believers of both churches.

Palárik's panslavism was generally as idealistic as Kollár's or Štúr's concept of Slavic reciprocity. He differed, however, from them in his favorable attitude towards Poland and not only failed to advocate Russian supremacy and leadership but also insisted on the necessity of equality of all Slavic peoples. There are echoes of Herder's and Hegel's philosophy and prophecies about the role the Slavs

will play in the world in Palárik's panslavism, even though he did not refer to them. From Štúr who advocated the acceptance of the Russian orthodoxy by all Slavic peoples Palárik also differed in religious respect by advocating the union of all Slavs in the Catholic Church, referring to the words of Christ about "one shepherd and one fold." His defense of Poles who were subjugated by the Russians caused him criticism from other Slovak panslavists. Nevertheless Palárik deserves recognition for creating two concepts of panslavism in Slovakia, and the present Soviet domination of Slavic peoples proves that he was right in refuting panslavism based on Russian leadership and supremacy.

Since Palárik has been known for the past 100 years mostly as a playwright and dramatist, whose works: *Incognito* (1858), *Drotár* (1860), *Smierenie* and *Dobrodružstvo pri Obžinkách* (1862), *Dimitrij samozvanec* (1870), have been played until the present day, the thesis by Msgr. Vavrovič contributes to the knowledge of Palárik's activities and ideas which make him one of the most progressive and democratic Slovak leader of the 19th century.

In conclusion we can say that the thesis is a valuable piece of academic writing. In view of the role played by panslavism in Slavic literatures and in the awakening of Slavic peoples, the thesis will add to this movement a new dimension: the ecumenic idea and a new conception of mutuality among Slavs. The knowledge of numerous languages by the author and his intellectual training made it possible to shed light on both movements from various points of view: philosophical, theological and literary. He also presented the

subject in a clear style and methodically well balanced.

The author of the thesis used practically all relevant sources in several languages and displayed a thorough knowledge of the basic works on panslavism and ecumenism. At the same time, he seems to know all writings by and on Palárik as his numerous quotations and bibliography indicate.

*Editor's remark:*

The reviewer, Prof. Joseph M. Kirschbaum, was a member of the jury which examined the author at the defense of his thesis and recommended its acceptance *summa cum laude*.

Milan S. Ďurica: *La Morte di M. R. Štefánik Alla Luce Dei Documenti Militari Italiani Inediti*, Collana di Studi Sull'Europa Orientale, Università Degli Studi di Padova, Padova, 1971, pp. 94.

For the past fifty years, the mysterious death of one of the co-founders of Czechoslovakia, General Milan R. Štefánik, gave ground to various hypotheses and accusations and created dissensions between Czechs and Slovaks. While on the part of the Prague government Štefánik's death was attributed to an accident, on the Slovak side persisted the belief that Štefánik lost his life because Dr. Beneš and also T. G. Masaryk disagreed with Štefánik's political views and wanted to prevent him from taking part in the political life of Czechoslovakia. The circumstances in which the aeroplane bringing Štefánik from Italy to his native land crashed near Bratislava favored the hypothesis that the crash was due to an artillery attack ordered by an officer of the Czechoslovak army who allegedly mistook the Italian aircraft for a Hungarian one.

Also the manner in which the

Prague government handled the investigation of the accident and fought the rumors and allegations accusing Dr. Beneš of the responsibility for Štefánik's death, helped to strengthen the belief that Štefánik actually was a victim of a political plot. Even though he was a member of the Czecho-Slovak government and his arrival was announced, there were no preparations for his reception and the archives containing the investigation records were kept top-secret during the whole existence of the pre-war Czecho-Slovakia.

For the above reasons, the death of Štefánik attracted writers as well as historians. Professor Ďurica has reviewed in his publication not only the circumstances of Štefánik's death, but also analyzed the probability of all hypotheses advanced in the past. In addition, he examined for the first time the Italian military archives pertaining to the departure of General M. R. Štefánik from Italy to his native Slovakia. In the past, the life and death of Štefánik were usually treated on the basis of French, Slovak and Czech sources, memoirs, and reminiscences. Professor Ďurica rightly considered it necessary to study the Italian archives and by doing so, he made a valuable contribution to the efforts of solving the mystery of Štefánik's death. He was successful in proving incorrect several assertions of the Prague government especially those concerning the meteorological conditions, the alleged inexperience of the pilot and the allegation that Štefánik's arrival was not announced before. As historian, Ďurica avoided pronouncing any firm conclusion as to which hypothesis is correct but his research destroyed the Prague government's version of Štefánik's death and in-

directly confirms the belief that Štefánik was the victim of a political plot.

As all historical works by Ďurica, also the present one is well researched and well written. Its scholarly value is enhanced by references to practically all known books and articles on Štefánik's life and death, in addition to his own thorough research of Italian military archives.

The essay was originally published in the periodical *Il Mondo Slavo* of which Prof. Ďurica is one of the founders and editors.

Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, The McMillan Company, New York, N. Y., 1972, pp. 321, Price \$7.95.

For the past four or five years, many American scholars expressed their doubts as to whether the United States became a "melting pot" or if that theory was just a myth. Several conferences of historical societies and sociologists and linguists suddenly discovered that America was a multi-cultural society and that the ethnic groups were not melted. The result of this academic discovery called the attention of the politicians and results in debates and finally in a Bill on Centers of Ethnic Studies in the Congress.

However, neither the studies of sociologists and historians, nor the recent Bill of Schweiker and Pucinski are as palatable and, by their approach, as human as is the book by Prof. Novak. Besides being well researched, the book is a real confession and a deep reflection on the human structure of America of today, written in excellent style, placing the book between a work of science and a novel.

The author is professor of philosophy and religious studies at the State University of New York at

Old Westbury and has to his credit ten books, mostly dealing with philosophy, theology and Catholics. Prof. Novak is a third generation American Slovak whose consciousness of ethnic background was awakened not long ago during the presidential campaigns by Barry Goldwater and Governor George Wallace in 1966. As Novak writes in his book, he was "alarmed by the cleavage between the old WASP and the new technological consciousness" and "felt increasingly uncomfortable with the condescension and disdain heaped upon Catholics." So he found himself beginning to say "we" rather than "they" when he spoke of ethnics (page 63). Since that time, Prof. Novak made a thorough study of the ethnic problem in the United States, mostly in its psychological, sociological and political aspects.

Due to his philosophical education and writing talent, Novak wrote in his book some of the most interesting insights into the life, aspiration and problems of the many millions of Americans who are neither WASPS nor Blacks. It is a delight to read for instance his chapter "Confessions of a White Ethnic" in which he analyses some of the basic psychological problems which various ethnic groups, especially Slavs, and as far as religion is concerned, all American Catholics, had to face from the time of their immigration up to the present day.

Prof. Novak who has been a staff member in several recent political campaigns, envisages the "unmeltable ethnics" as the new political force of the seventies.

He came to that conclusion as a result of the study of numerous books dealing with present day America, as his many references and quotations indicate. There is one thing which bothers, however,

the reader; his hardly ornamental name for the ethnic groups "PIGS." He also separates Poles from other Slavs, even though the Polish Americans preserved some of the most Slavic characteristics.

Novak's book is bound to shake the conscience of many Americans, and will probably do so for a decade to come. It may be worthwhile for many American Slovaks to consider as to whether they should actively join this new political force. It would perhaps be good to do so not only for their own sake and the United States but also for the country of their fathers and forefathers—Slovakia.

*Slavs in Canada*, Vol. III, Compiled and Edited by Prof. Cornelius J. Jaenen, University of Ottawa, 1971, 348 pages. Price: \$7.00.

The third volume of *Slavs in Canada* contains proceeding of the Third National Conference on Canadian Slavs held in 1969 at York University in Toronto. Professors of Slavic Studies at various Canadian universities organized in 1965 under the leadership of Professor B. Bociurkiw a committee whose task was to study the problems of Canadian Slavs. The committee was successful in organizing the first Conference on Canadian Slavs in Banff, the second in Ottawa, and the third in Toronto, attracting many specialists in Slavic and ethnic studies. While the first and second Conferences were dealing predominantly with the general problems of Canadian Slavs, the third Conference was divided into six sections dealing with research, politics and law, education, languages and literature, journalism and folklore. Altogether 22 papers were presented and discussed in those sections and the volume under review contains the edited text of the papers.

One of the most interesting studies in the volume is a voluminous paper on the ethnic identification and attitudes of university students of Ukrainian descent by Prof. B. Bociurkiw. His conclusions can apply to students of other Slavic groups not only in Canada but apparently also in the United States. Another paper of general interest was presented by Prof. V. Szyrnski on the subject "Ethnic Integration and Psychological Adjustment," while Prof. J. D. Gagnon from the Université de Montréal gave his views about the position of immigrants in Quebec if that Province became independent.

Besides these basic studies, the volume contains interesting insights into the Canadian education and minority rights, a study on the influence of the English language on Slavic languages and the portrayal of Canada's ethnic groups in some French Canadian novels. For the first time, the Conference paid attention to the ethnic press and the papers dealing with the subject contained an essay on Byelorussian publications in Canada by A. A. Hrycuk, "The Ideological Orientation of the Canadian Slavic Press" by J. M. Kirschbaum, and "Analysis of the Periodical Publications of Canadian Slavs," by A. Malycky.

Some of these papers were of strictly scientific character while others contained general information or basic facts for further studies, and, therefore, the contents of the volume are uneven in their scholarly value. Nevertheless, the book is of importance not only for acquainting Canadians with the Slavic groups but it should also be considered as a valuable contribution to the general trend to build Canada as a multi-cultural society.

Jaroslav A. Piekalkiewicz: *Public Opinion Polling in Czechoslovakia, 1968-69, Results and Analysis of Surveys Conducted During the Dubček Era*, Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington, London, 1972.

The number of books which dealt with the political upheavals in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, was so great that another book would seem superfluous. Some 60 books were published in the English language alone, and there were a dozen books in other West European languages. Nevertheless, the present volume on Public Opinion Polling will be very useful for historians and students of Eastern Europe.

Its specific value lies in the fact that it embraces the whole territory of Czecho-Slovakia and pays attention to the relations between Slovaks and Czechs which, in many other publications, was overlooked or minimized. In addition, this book expresses the opinions of many Czechs and Slovaks and, as a result, is not a write-up by an observer who was only partly familiar with the problems and judged them on the basis of his observations or limited information received in Prague. The book also seems to be free of the usual anti-Slovak bias, which we often find in political writings by Western historians and specialists on Eastern Europe.

The book is divided into 11 chapters in which the author endeavored to find an answer to the question as to whether there was a revolution or counter-revolution; what kind of socialism the Czechs and Slovaks wanted to achieve; the role of the existing non-communist parties; the role of the National



Front, political parties and political opposition; popularity of individual leaders and attitudes on the economic system. In conclusion, the author applied the findings to other communist states of Eastern Europe.

If we take into consideration that all polls display flaws and inaccuracies, we could question some of the results of the polls which the author organized in Czecho-Slovakia and based thereon his conclusions. Nevertheless, his book seems to be closer to the real situation and feelings of the Slovaks and Czechs than the works of many observers who relied on more limited information either in personal contacts or printed sources.

One of the topics of interest for Slovaks in this book is undoubtedly "the traditional conflict between Czechs and Slovaks." This topic was treated in many books published in the West either inadequately with *parti pris* or else it was overlooked completely. In the view of the author "a discussion of the public's conception of the new political system in Czechoslovakia would be incomplete without considering the role and relationship of the two nations that composed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. He dwelt, therefore, on this problem and found out that "historically, the post-war communist government in Czechoslovakia closely followed the one-nation philosophy outlined in 1918 by the founders of Czechoslovak Republic. Under this theory the Czechs and Slovaks were a single nation divided not by ethnic differences but only by dissimilar historical patterns of development. These two peoples were to be bound together in a unified state under which the Slovaks enjoyed only a minimum autonomy.

The Slovaks resented their subjection and both physically and theoretically opposed the real or imaginary political, economic and cultural dominance of the Czechs. With this dissatisfaction simmering throughout the years, it is not surprising to find that the 1968 Reformist Movement originated in Slovakia and was led by many Slovak individuals. It seems apparent—concludes the author—that the Slovak people viewed the Reformist Movement as an opportunity to gain a real and equal autonomy within the Czechoslovak Federal system."

According to the polls, 94% of Slovaks expressed the opinion that there was a need for a new form of relationship between the Czechs and Slovaks. Contrary to the opinion of other writers on the upheavals in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, the author also found a great number of Czechs who supported the need for a re-definition of the relationship of Slovaks and Czechs within the Republic. According to his findings, "of all the individuals surveyed, only one out of 14 disagreed with the need for a re-defined relationship. This evidence—says the author—leaves no doubt that the future realization of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia was to include a democratic and equal relationship between the Czech and Slovak peoples" (pp. 110-112). There is no doubt that about the same number would opt for independence; if Slovaks had full freedom of choice.

Milan S. Ďurica (Ed.). *Il Mondo Slavo*, Vol. III Ceseo, Centro Studi Europa Orientale, Padova, 1971.

While in Slovakia books dealing with Slovak culture, history, liter-



ature or philology are still directed predominantly towards Eastern Europe, Slovak intellectuals in the West have the duty to fulfill the gap which has been created by separating Slovakia from the free world. Among Slovak intellectuals in Europe Prof. Milan S. Ďurica distinguished himself by performing this role not only by his books and lectures in Western European countries, but since 1969, by editing the Italian academic periodical *Il Mondo Slavo* (The Slavic World). In all three volumes of the periodical, which appeared until now, the contributions on Slovak matters contain valuable information on history, language and culture of the Slovak people.

The first volume, published in 1969, contained a well-written survey on the development of the Slovak literary language during the past 50 years by Adriana Ferienčíková, and an article on Italian artisans and merchants in Slovakia in the 18th century by Anton Spiesz. In the second volume, published in 1970, Lisa Guarda Nardini analyzed the political and social doctrine of the late Slovak President, Dr. Joseph Tiso, under the title "Ideological Premises of Czecho-Slovak Federalism." In the third volume, Prof. Milan S. Ďurica, published some unknown and very interesting military documents from Italian archives about the death of M. R. Štefánik. (The essay is available also in a reprint and has been reviewed separately in *Slovakia*).

From the Slovak point of view all these contributions are of special value. Not only for the reasons that under the present regime in Slovakia cultural contacts with the West are practically non-existent,

but also for the fact that there are still many misconceptions about Slovak culture, language and history among Western Slavists.

The essay on the development of the Slovak literary language during the past 50 years by A. Ferienčíková has also the merit of being well researched and containing all the basic facts and sources which can put the development of the Slovak language into proper perspective. In spite of many efforts of Slovak intellectuals in the West, there are still linguists or historians who write about the Slovak as being a dialect of the Czech language. Studies on the subject in Western languages are, therefore, never superfluous.

Since Slavic studies considerably developed in all Western countries after the Second World War, *Il Mondo Slavo* will acquaint Slavists with Slovakia not only in Italy, but also in many Western countries. This can be expected all the more in view of the high academic value of all contributions and careful edition of the periodical by Prof. Ďurica. Among the contributors there are in all three volumes known Slavists of Italian or Slav origin, teaching at Italian universities. While several periodicals on Slavic matters published in other Western countries deal mostly with Russian culture and literature, *Il Mondo Slavo* has shown distinction in paying attention to smaller Slavic nations and their cultures such as Slovenes, Croats and Slovaks. Students of Eastern Europe will, therefore, welcome *Il Mondo Slavo* since it will provide reliable scholarly information on Slavic peoples which are either misrepresented or rarely mentioned in academic periodicals published in French, English or German languages.

## NEW COLLECTIONS OF SLOVAK ÉMIGRÉ POETRY

Rudolf Dilong, *Hladný vetrik* (Hungry Breeze), Edition Polana, Zurich, 1972, 86 pages.

Ján L. Doránsky, *Od splnu po zatmenie* (From the Full Moon to the Eclipse), Series Lyra, Slovak Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Rome, 1972, 110 pages.

Slovak émigré literature is growing in spite of the fact that we are again cut off from Slovakia and the assimilation of the younger generations is rapidly progressing among Slovaks abroad. It is, however, mostly the first wave of Slovak post-war émigrés who still create belles lettres, and not the writers who left Slovakia in recent years for Western countries.

The two collections of verses under review are by poets whose reputations were established in Slovakia and who during the past two decades belonged to the best and most prolific Slovak émigré writers.

Dilong's *Hungry Breeze* is again personal lyrical poetry in which his talent and mastership remind us of pleasant spiritual vibrations full of color, joy, sadness, mixed with hope and faith. The book is divided into four chapters, each chapter starting with appropriate illustrations by Ján Mráz, a talented graphic artist from the new wave of Slovak emigration.

While all chapters contain beautiful lyrical poetry, readers will welcome especially Chapter 4 entitled: *Slovak Women* (Album). Dilong published here some of the most beautiful verses which we can find in modern Slovak poetry and in Slovak poetry in general, except for *Marína* by Sládkovič. In the first three chapters Dilong dreams about his young years, his parents, his native *Orava*. It is a sort of

poetic biography in short poems full of grace, imagination and deep feelings. The collection, as well as the entire Dilong's literary work in exile would deserve a thorough analytic evaluation, and not only passing reviews as this one, to appreciate fully his work.

Doránsky's book *From the Full Moon to the Eclipse* deserves our special appreciation because due to unfavorable circumstances in exile, we know only a very small part of his literary work. Doránsky is a poet of considerable versatility, and besides many lyrical verses and patriotic poems, he wrote in Canada a drama called *Stará mat', neopúšťajte nás* (Grandmother Do Not Leave Us Alone, 1953), successfully played by Slovak groups across Canada. Before coming to Canada, Doránsky had published a play called *Novou cestou* (On A New Path, 1930), and a collection of satirical verses *Slepí pasažieri* (Blind Passengers, 1943).

In exile Doránsky's poetry was published in various anthologies: *Vo vyhnanstve* (1947); *Zdravica sv. Cyrilovi a Metodovi* (1963); in literary periodicals and in almanacs and newspapers. In recent years his epigrams, published either in the quarterly *Most*, *Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike* or in newspapers and almanacs, became preferred reading among Slovak intelligentsia in the free world. Besides poetry, Doránsky wrote a number of short novels and other prose contributions under the pen-name Hámorník and J. D. Oravee.

Doránsky came from a part of Slovakia which gave to Slovak literature and public life many outstanding poets and novelists. He inherited a love for literature and began to write in his early youth, first for students' periodicals, later

for literary and cultural monthlies. When the Russian armies over-ran Slovakia, Doránsky with thousands of other Slovak intellectuals left with his family for the West. After spending a few months in Austria and two years in Assissi and Rome, he landed in Canada in 1949 and has lived in Montreal for the past 23 years.

Very recently a collection of his epigrams was published with a lengthy commentary by F. Vnuk and enthusiastically received by critics and readers. Those who know Doránsky are aware of the fact that the published epigrams are just a selection of the large number he wrote during his lifetime. We can say the same about the present collection of lyrical and patriotic verses. They are also a selection from his many verses and we have to acknowledge that it is an excellent selection.

The book is divided into four parts and presents a spiritual profile of the poet and poetic sketches from his journey from Slovakia through Italy to Canada, as well as fine lyrical verses dedicated to his wife, daughter and grand-daughter. As in Dilong's collection, the best part seems to be his chapter on Slovak women, in Doránsky's book the finest verses are about his mother, and mothers in general. The title of the book expresses accurately the contents of the collection which certainly will rank among the best lyrical Slovak poetry in exile.

A short biographical note was added to the collection by J. M. Rydlo and the cover was artistically designed by the poet's son Ludovít. In the opinion of this reviewer, Doránsky deserves a thorough analysis and evaluation of his literary work in order that we may appreciate it adequately.

Rudolf Dilong: *Ponúkam chlieb so soľou—I Offer Bread and Salt*, Translated by Sister M. Martina Tybor. Published by Dobrá kniha 1971, Galt, Ontario, Bilingual, 151 pages.

By publishing this bilingual collection of poetry in prose, Rudolf Dilong proved once more that he is the most prolific and versatile contemporary poet in exile. The number of books he published in Slovakia, which he left in defiance of her Communist rulers, as well as the number of books published during his long exile in Argentina and the U.S.A., is impressive and unrivalled by any other Slovak writer. Attracted by new currents in French inter-war Catholic poetry and surrealism, Dilong experimented in many poetic forms and due to his great love for life and gay temper, was the "enfant terrible" among the Slovak Catholic poets of his generation. The present book is another experiment in form and contents and by publishing it in English and Slovak, it was the merit for acquainting foreign readers with an interesting sample of Slovak literature as well as with the author himself.

Dilong's reputation as a poet was well established before he left his native country. Besides publishing 14 collections of poems, two dramas, and two collections of prose, he also was very active in organizing literary journals, and contributed practically to all Slovak cultural periodicals and anthologies of Slovak poetry. In addition, he was either co-founder or editor of two literary periodicals *Postup* (1934-36) and *Nové Slovo* (1939-40).

In exile he remained one of the leading and again most prolific poets. His poetry remained strongly nationalistic, deeply religious in essence but not homiletic in form

or content, humble and rebellious and usually expressed in beautiful images and practically varied forms. While several other Slovak poets did not find opportunities in exile to publish their works, Dilong's books were published in rapid succession. From 1950 to 1970 he produced and published some 20 books either in Buenos Aires, where he spent nearly 20 years of his exile, or recently in the United States. Many of his manuscripts perished together with his books, when Peron was burning churches in Argentina.

As in Slovakia, his poetic production in exile has been varied in forms and themes but the basic overtones of a patriot and Franciscan friar, even if not following always the dogma and rules of his religious order, remained the main characteristic of his entire literary work in immigration. Some of his verses became hymns for Slovak exiles, recited on various solemn occasions and re-published many times in Slovak periodicals and newspapers. Several of Dilong's poems were translated into Spanish, Polish and French.

With his great love for life and because of his patriotic zeal and fiery poetry, he became one of the most interesting figures among Slovak writers. Some of his first poems inspired by their contents and musical rhythm Slovak composers in their compositions, and several poems became songs of the Slovak youth, as well as of the Slovak army.

The book under review is divided into three parts: The house will bleach to ash; Out of bounds without bounds, and Human hands. Each part contains a number of short reflective and highly imaginative poems in prose which compel the reader to meditate and

think about our age, our neighbor, poverty, suffering, rebellion, smile; about our life and death, emotions and beliefs, about God and man. As such, it is a valuable addition to Dilong's work and to Slovak literature.

Ján Okál': *Cielito Lindo*, Edícia Dobrá kniha, Galt, Ontario, 1972, Illustration by J. G. Cincík, 65 p.

For the past several years Slovak émigré poetry was enriched by a number of beautifully illustrated collections of verse by leading Slovak poets abroad. While some of the collections contained patriotic verses and personal lyrical poetry with Slovak topics, in other collections we find poetry inspired by the beauty of foreign countries in which Slovaks either lived or visited.

Okál's masterfully illustrated collection *Cielito Lindo* is an outstanding example of this new poetry, and it is not easy to say if the reader enjoys more the verses or the beautiful illustrations. In any case, there is a lot of artistic value and enjoyment for the reader and we cannot but feel a certain pride that in the modest circumstances in exile, Slovak literature can afford the luxury of such books.

In a certain way, Ján Okál' deserves credit for introducing into Slovak literature this combination of poetry and visual arts. Already his first published collection *George Jánošík: A Carpathian Saga*, published in 1953, and his chronicle in 13 poems entitled *Kronika Slovákov* (The Chronicle of Slovaks, 1954), were published in the same form. Then for a number of years, this gifted Slovak poet remained silent, except for publishing here and there verses in the literary journal *Most* or the *Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike*. In

1970, appeared his collection of verses *Voda a víno* (Water and Wine), in which Okál' reminisced about the years spent in Italy and especially in Rome. The present collection is a sort of continuation of the book *Voda a víno*. This time he is drawing in his poems, usually not longer than one or two verses, beautiful images of places in Mexico.

Ján Okál' is a gifted and refined poet, and we hope that he will continue to publish poetry of such outstanding taste and artistic value.

Ján E. Bor, *Eugen Vesnín — Un poeta Eslovaco en tierras Mediterraneas*, Buenos Aires, 1972, 71 pages.

Among Slovak intellectuals who assiduously worked in exile for the past 20 years in order to make Slovak literature known to the Spanish reading public, Ján E. Bor has been the most prolific. Either in his own writings or in translations, he published a considerable number of essays and studies on Slovak poetry and prose not only in periodicals but also in book form. The present essay on the poet Eugen Vesnín is one of his most recent publications.

The publication is divided into eight chapters in which Bor analyzes Vesnín's poetry, his personality, the reaction to Vesnín's poetry by readers and literary critics either on the part of Slovaks or Italians who acclaimed Vesnín for his collection of verses in Italian

language. In the last two chapters Bor analyzes Vesnín's attachment to Etruria and his enchantment with feminine beauty.

Bor writes on Vesnín's poetry with the usual skill and knowledge of literary science for which he was known already in Slovakia where he belonged to the best known literary critics of his generation. In exile he lowered sometimes his yardstick when writing on Slovak émigré writers and poets, but his erudition in literary science has been evident in every book and essay he had published during the past twenty years. The portrait of Vesnín in Bor's publication is not only favorable but also well balanced and presented in Bor's baroque style. According to Bor, Vesnín belongs to the best Slovak lyrical poets among Slovak émigré writers and enriched Slovak literature by many themes inspired by the beauty of Rome and the Mediterranean area where Vesnín has lived the past three or four decades. Several collections of Vesnín's poetry undoubtedly prove that Italy enchanted him, though many of his verses were written with patriotic overtones and "heimweh" for his native Slovakia.

Since every book on Slovak literature in foreign languages is a valuable contribution to our efforts to acquaint the Western world with Slovak culture, we cannot but welcome the newest publication by Prof. Ján E. Bor.

J. M. Kirschbaum

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THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA heartily commends all efforts of our governmental and other organs to ferret out and unmask all Communists and fellow travelers, as well as all persons and organizations who wittingly or unwittingly give aid and comfort to the conspiracy of Communism promoted by the Soviet Union.

## BOOKS ON JEWS IN SLOVAKIA

Reviewed by

*Dr. Arvéd Grébert*

*The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, historical studies and surveys, edited by "The Jewish Publication Society of America," Philadelphia, and the "Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews," New York, Vol. I, 5728-1968, pp. 583, Vol. II, 5732-1971, pp. 707. Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 67-12372.

Up to the present time two volumes on the history of the Jews in Czecho-Slovakia constitute an unusually valuable contribution on the history of the inhabitants of that state. The Jews in Czech lands, in Slovakia and in Sub-Carpathian Russia (Ruthenia) made a vital contribution to the Jews in general but also to the history of the people in those regions, namely, the Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, Magyars and the Ukrainians. The authors of the various articles by their objective and calm tone do not digress from a strictly scientific analysis, even when the themes, which in their tragic dimensions and consequences, understandably provide the occasion for an outburst of wrath and recrimination. In this respect the work is extraordinary effective and convincing.

In no way do the authors avoid sensitive subjects. They neither ignore nor sidestep realities that have frequently been used as pretexts for criticism by the enemies of Jewry. These they explain and place in special categories in the destiny of the Jews, for example, in the framework of the historical evaluation of central and eastern

Europe during the past several centuries.

The first volume contains an especially worthwhile article in two parts by Dr. Lidia Rothkirchen, a member of the research staff of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. Her contribution, "Slovakia (1848-1938)" presents a very keen and rather accurate picture of the history of Slovakia and the Jews in that country. Naturally, in all of the articles dealing with the law, religion, social organization, etc., the writers faithfully record the history of the Jews in Slovakia.

The second volume contains the article of Rabbi Hugo Stránsky who was a former chief rabbi in Žilina. His is an arresting chapter on "The Religious Life in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia." Then, too, Frank Reichenthal's "Jewish Art in Slovakia" is a very interesting review by the former chief of the department of decorative art at the State School of Applied Arts in Bratislava from 1932 to 1938. Before emigrating to United States in 1948 he served as president of the Slovak Artists' Association from 1946 to 1947.

This first volume contains Eugen Bárkány's "Jewish Cemeteries in Slovakia" article by the late architect and builder (1886-1967) and co-founder of the Jewish Museum in Prešov, Slovakia. Some of the artistic motives on the gravestones, the writer observes, show a definite influence of Slovak folk art, indicating a close, intimate relationship between the Jews and the Slovaks.

Gertrude Hirschler's "The His-



tory of Agudah Israel in Slovakia (1918-1939)" is interesting, too.

Of course, in all of the articles ranging from studies of various movements, organizational life, religious welfare, education, art, etc., there is a large number of facts about the life of the Jews in Slovakia and their relationship to the local inhabitants, chiefly, the Slovaks and Magyars. The number is so great that it is virtually impossible to review them all but at least we have mentioned some of them relating specifically to Slovakia.

Dr. Lidia Rothkirchen's "Slovakia (1848-1938)" deserves special attention. Her article in two parts covers 53 pages. A number of facts mentioned are known only by Slovak historians and experts. For instance, the writer states that in 1858 there were 308 Jewish schools in Hungary. Of this number 131, ie., almost 45%, were located in the Bratislava school district. Bratislava, therefore, was a very important center of Jewish learning in the kingdom of Hungary. Among the charter members of the Matica Slovenská (the leading cultural organization of the Slovaks in the last century) we find a number of Jews.

When the government in Budapest gave orders to close down the Slovak central schools (junior colleges) in Revúca, Kláštor pod Znievom and Turčiansky Svätý Martin (all in Slovakia at the time under Hungarian imperial rule), two Jewish members of the Diet (Moritz Wehrman and Eduard Horn) spoke up and requested that the schools be kept open. Dr. Lidia Rothkirchen notes that before the Jews won equal rights in Hungary, the people of Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš elected Izak Diner, a Jew, as Mayor of the city. A number of Jews later served as mayors in the same city. She

reminds the reader that Slovak Jews played an important role in the Zionist movement in the kingdom of Hungary. Two Jews from Bardejov (eastern Slovakia), Julius Davidsohn and Julius Davidovič, attended the first Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland (1897). Eight of thirteen Zionist chapters established in Hungary were located in Slovakia, namely, in Bratislava, Nitra, Trnava, Prešov, Košice, Kežmarok, Dolný Kubín and Banská Bystrica, and the first Zionist congress in Hungary convened in Bratislava in 1903. The following year the World Mizrahi Congress met in the Slovak capital. The writer notes that the Magyar government in Budapest considered the Zionist movement with the same disfavor as it did the nationalistic movement of the Slovaks in their country.

During World War I both the Zionist movement and the activities of the Slovak patriots were banned by law.

Names of outstanding Jewish writers and scientists are listed by Dr. Rothkirchen. She points out that Jewish writers in their novels and romances touched upon the Jewish problem in the framework of a Slovak historical background.

Dr. Lidia Rothkirchen cites that in 1921 of a total of 135,918 Jews in Slovakia, 70,522 were registered as Jews, 29,290 as Slovaks and the rest as Magyars, Germans, Rusins, etc. The 1930 census showed 44,009 registered as Slovaks and 72,644 as Jews. This figure represents quite convincing proof of the rapid Slovakization of the Jewish population. Had it not been for the tragic events of World War II, this process of amalgamation would have inevitably resulted in a very advantageous symbiosis of the Slovak Jews and the Slovaks.

She writes (page 105): From 1933 on "the Slovaks more and more o-

penly advocated either detachment from Czechoslovakia altogether and establishment of an independent Slovakia, or a Slovakia which would enjoy much wider autonomy and self-rule."

In general this work may be accepted as a very valuable contribution to the history of the people inhabiting Czecho-Slovakia. Every public or private library should have it on its shelves. No scholar who is interested in the history of this area can be without it.

To a large extent without the untiring efforts of Ľudovít Štúr, president of the Society for the History of the Czechoslovak Jews in New York, this important work in two volumes would not have come to press.

Mr. Štúr is a native of Slovakia and a friend of Slovak writers and artists. Unfortunately, so far his work has not been adequately appreciated.

Alexander Schreiber: *Hebräische Kodexüberreste in Ungarländischen Eibandstafeln. Héber Kodexmaradványok magyarországi kötetstáblákban. Budapest, 1969.*

Dr. Alexander Schreiber, director of the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest, has written a very noteworthy book on the cultural history of the Jews in Slovakia during the Medieval era. The book contains a list and analysis of 172 Hebrew codex fragments which were used for book-bindings.

Together with Arpád Zoltán of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava the author studied the archives and libraries in the following Slovak cities and towns: Bratislava, Červený Kameň pri Modre, Pezinok, Jur near Bratislava, Trnava, Nitra, Nová Baňa, Banská Bystrica, Turčiansky Svätý Martin, Dolný Kubín, Bytča, Tren-

čín, Košice, Jasov, Spišské Podhradie, Levoča, Kežmarok, Podolinec, Nové Zámky and Hlohovec.

Košice, Bardejov, Trenčín, Skalica, Hlohovec, Trnava, Pezinok and Bratislava are listed separately as centers of Jewish libraries and culture.

Dr. Schreiber, recognized universally as an authority in his field, considers the material found in the area now known as Slovakia as an important part of the culture of the Jews who inhabited Hungary during the Middle Ages.

This work, which was lacking in scientific literature, is the beginning of further research in the archives and libraries in this direction throughout Slovakia. It is, at the same time an interesting proof, or evidence, for the tradition of the high degree of culture of the population in Slovakia during the Medieval era.

Karl Baum: *Nazi Anti-Jewish Legislation in the Czech Protectorate*, a Documentary, in "Soviet Jewish Affairs," a Journal on Jewish Problems in the USSR and Eastern Europe, London, No. 3, May, 1972. Published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, in association with the World Jewish Congress in Geneva.

Karl Baum's article is noteworthy for several reasons. In his introduction the writer states that the anti-Jewish legislation in the Czech protectorate (1939-1945) has not been properly treated in international scientific writings so far, while a rich and documented literature about anti-Jewish regulations in Hitler's Germany does exist. Those who studied this question outside of Hitler's sphere ordinarily did not study the laws of the protectorate, which they assumed were an integral part of the Reich and those

who studied anti-Jewish laws in Hitler's Germany did not consider the protectorate because it did not belong directly to the framework of the Third Reich. Baum, at least, partially fills this void.

The writer gives a detailed study on anti-Jewish legislation in the Czech Protectorate and traces the execution of the laws not only by the Nazis but also by the Czech government officials in the Protectorate. Baum's study from this viewpoint is highly important because he has brought to the international forum little known or unknown facts which were hidden on the pages of "The Collection of Laws and Regulations" promulgated by signatures of President (Dr.) Hacha or Czech ministers. Baum emphasizes that these laws of the wartime Czech protectorate "reflect only part of the unmitigated evil to which one of the leading Jewish communities was to fall victim. They carry little evidence of persecution and harassment on the local level, nor do they mirror the share of those of non-German vintage in Czechoslovakia who had come in to participate in the great hunt of the century and to divide its spoils. It must be left to future historians to establish their contribution to the tragedy of Czechoslovak Jewry."

Baum calls attention to the December 1, 1930, Census in Czechoslovakia as listing the number of Jews as 356,830, which is inaccurate inasmuch 15,000 Jews from Germany found refuge there when Hitler came to power. Of 854,600 who were registered as atheists in Czechoslovakia, according to Baum, at least 10% were of Jewish origin. Moreover, there was no provision for a natural increase of the Jewish population from 1930 to 1939. Consequently, the author's estimate has some 457,000 Jews in Czechoslo-

vakia by 1938, hence actually 100,000 more than is generally indicated in the figures.

All of the above, the author concludes, became innocent victims of inhumane discrimination and inhuman mistreatment in the lands of the Czech Protectorate during World War II.

### ANNUAL FURDEK

*Jednota Annual FURDEK 1973*, Vol. XII, 1973. Edited by Joseph C. Krajsa. Publisher, The First Catholic Slovak Union. Printed by Jednota Press, Middletown, Pa. 208 pages.

This publication, *Jednota Annual Furdek*, continues commendably in the footsteps of Philip A. Hrobak, the first editor who conceived the idea of addressing it to our youth for their benefit. The present volume offers the youthful reader valuable information and inspiration as well.

The 12th volume is definitely youth oriented, for it gives several phases of the background of our early Slovak immigrants to American shores and a look at the historic homeland of our parents and grandparents.

Quite appropriately the *Furdek* leads off with a pictorial introduction of the officers of the *Jednota* because they are the official representatives of the organization that has a membership close to 100,000.

Daniel Tanzzone discusses fraternalism and the Slovak immigrant in a highly readable and documented study of the origins and growth of Slovak fraternal organizations in this country.

Introduction of *Janko Král'*, *Slovak revolutionary poet* of the 19th century, by Joseph Kirschbaum, Ph.D., LL.D., of Toronto, Canada, is rather timely in view of current

trends that are characterized by the same spirit of restlessness, radical change, disillusionment and a mixture of hope and despair that marked the life and work of a Slovak poet who was in the forefront of the struggle for social justice and political freedom.

St. Joseph the Workman, the universal patron of workmen everywhere, is a favorite saint of men who must toil at manual labor. The statue of St. Joseph overlooking the industrial environs of St. Michael Slovak parish, Munhall, Pa., in the heart of the steel industry of the Pittsburgh area is a constant inspiration to the passerby.

Tribute to Karl Pacanovský, 'a philosopher-craftsman' at the Hill School in Pottstown, Pa. for more than three decades, is a well deserved one for a Slovak worker who was dedicated to his tasks in his workshop.

R. H. Andrews' article on India is an eye-opener for those who know so little about the great work accomplished by Catholic missionaries in the Far East.

Furdek's youth panel of scholarship winners (39 young men and 25 young women) is a fine representation of Jednota's honor students of the past year.

Paul Berish in his *Relevant* contribution finds fault... and rightly so... with the mishandling of facts about the Slovaks and their history by American journalists, newsreporters, and even so-called editorial writers and historians.

The *Slovak Catholic Federation of America* is primarily an association of Slovak Catholic fraternal organizations that hold the Church in highest esteem because their members accept it as a society established by Christ for the salvation of their immortal souls.

Monsignor Gallik's article on

*Catholic unity* is a serious reminder in our times to stand united in the Faith of our Fathers when diversity of opinions, various modes of liturgical worship, and even divergent doctrinal proposals are dangerous challenges to the orthodoxy of our faith.

Father Franko's *Slovak Christmas Eve* sacred vignette should be adopted by every Christian family to help preserve the spirit and true meaning of a genuinely Christian yuletide season.

Reproductions (in exquisite color) of the stained glass windows adorning the Chapel of the Jednota Home are a pictorial portrayal of the spirit of faith that inspired their creation and at the same time a public testimonial of honor of two of the most famous Slovak priests of our age, namely, Father Furdek, founder of the Jednota, and Father Tiso, the martyr-president of the Slovak Republic.

Clevelanders will no doubt find the article by Slovak Benedictine scribe, Fr. Andrew V. Pier, O.S.B., on early Slovak immigrants interesting... and his other contributions informative.

The story about *Staff Sergeant Frank Mitka*, a Veteran of the U.S. Army for more than thirty years, brings into the limelight a career soldier who enjoyed military life... he was a forerunner of the present-day volunteer army.

The *valaška*, a traditional Slovak weapon designed for protection... not aggression... is a national symbol of strength and resistance against the forces of injustice and tyranny.

*Sheep and their shepherds in Slovakia* are the subjects of a romantic setting (an idyllic scene on the mountainside) with the venerable 'bača' holding his young proteges spell-bound as they listen to an endless series of thrilling epi-

sodes around the fireside after the evening chores are done, but members of a definite economic class that is an asset to the country and its people.

Even the Croatians, by exception, get a boost in this year's Furdek as Father Wuerl recalls the 1,000th anniversary of the feast of St. Blaise, celebrated in the town of Dubrovnik, Croatia, on February 3, 1972.

Paul Berish uncovers the 'hidden life of Brother Rudolf' over a span of fifty years as a tailor in the service of the Lord in the tailorshop of a monastic Redemptorist community.

*Salt in Slovakia* has been a rich commodity for Slovakia and neighboring states in central Europe for many centuries. Solivar, near Prešov, continues to mine salt to the present day by modern methods and techniques.

Michael Kurak of the Holy Trinity Slovak parochial school in Yonkers, N. Y. tells the world he is a Slovak... and proud of it!

Father Robert Terentieff is presented by Dr. Michael Simko to our readers as an artist, teacher, dramatist, zealous shepherd of souls and preserver of Slovak customs in Connecticut.

The pictorial contribution of Paul C. Fallat, Slovak artist, on an important phase in the life of Father Hlinka who was 'a fearless fighter for Slovak freedom' is an attractive re-enactment of the highlights of the Slovak leader's dynamic career that helped win the struggle for the Slovak nation's political freedom before World War II.

*American and Canadian Translators of Slovak poetry* by Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum, Slovak diplomat and writer, not only touches upon translations of Slovak poems but lists a considerable number of

translations from Slovak prose. Included in the list of translators with such world known personalities as Björnson, Seton-Watson and Denis are W. Kirkconnell, J. Vajda, I. Kramoriš, M. Šprinc, K. Strmeň and Sister M. Tybor, SS.C.M.

*The Tool Box* by Alvin Lebar brings to light an amusing incident in the early life of Stan Sládek, a Slovak professional football player from the Bronx in the 1950's and 1960's.

Dorothy Day, the 74-year-old Catholic social worker, speaker, publisher and activist during most of her lifetime, is given tribute by Joseph McLellan who characterizes the remarkable champion of social justice and evangelical poverty as 'a prophet of Catholic social concern.'

Dr. Kirschbaum attempts to sift the truth from falsehood in the conflicting accounts involving the creation of the Slovak Republic on March 14, 1939... almost six months before the German invasion of Poland started the war.

*Australia* beckoned several thousand freedom-loving Slovaks to seek their livelihood there after their country was locked up behind the Iron Curtain. Approximately ten thousand Slovaks in exile are found in southern Australia.

Father Matthew Jankola (founder of the Religious Order of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Danville, Pa.) has a proper evaluation of his life-work in the biographical sketch of Daniel Tanzone, young Slovak writer.

Another promising young Slovak writer, Michael J. Krajsa, rightly gives credit to our early American Slovak leaders for establishing fraternal societies, churches, schools and social-cultural centers that flourished in their time. Krajsa concentrates on the story of the Jednota primarily.



Interspersed throughout the volume are short poems, designed no doubt for inspiration as well as variety... these adequately fulfill their purpose.

Rt. Rev. Jerome Koval, O.S.B

### SLOVAK PIONEERS IN AMERICA

Jozef Paučo, Ph.D. *Slovenskí priekopníci v Amerike* (Slovak Pioneers in America). First Catholic Slovak Union, Cleveland, O., 1972. 358 pages. Illustrated. \$4.95.

*Slovak Pioneers in America* (Slovenskí priekopníci v Amerike), from the pen of Dr. Jozef Paučo, is another publication of the Jednota Press of the First Catholic Slovak Union. The book is dedicated as a living witness to the staunch and lasting accomplishments of those Slovak pioneers—priests, religious and laity—who with their whole being stood in the service of the American Slovaks. Many made outstanding cultural and literary contributions that have become part of the lasting treasury of America's worth.

On these factual pages, the author and the First Catholic Slovak Union fulfill an obligation which is due to Slovak nation since it gave to America fully one-third of its people. These immigrants filled all facets of American labor and pulled themselves up from the mines, the iron pits and steel mills to the ranks of Generals, professional men, and business men, but most of all they led their people to be loyal citizens of their new country, the United States of America.

It is in this vein that Paučo presents his new book *Slovenskí priekopníci v Amerike*. When the book is translated into English, the third

and fourth generations of American Slovaks will be able to fully evaluate all the accomplishments and contributions of their pioneer parents and grandparents—not only what they did for them, but for the over three million American Slovaks and for the whole of America.

Paučo's work required serious research and documentation. In an objective manner he credits the life and works of the pioneers and categorizes them in their proper niche in the history of the American Slovaks, in America and the Slovak nation. He presents those leading pioneers who played the greatest role in the cultural field; those who organized fraternal societies, parishes, schools, and religious orders; those who preserved the literary culture with the publication of newspapers and books; and those who were fired with the ideal of liberty that even permeated to Slovakia.

It was the American Slovaks who initiated the movement for an independent Slovakia prior to World War I. They were proud of the document known as the "Pittsburgh Pact" which became the platform of the political party in Slovakia seeking autonomy for the Slovak people. This was a unique display of cooperation and a symbolic gesture between the Slovak nation and the emigrated American Slovaks.

Father Joseph A. Gajdosik, Supreme Chaplain of the First Catholic Slovak Union and Chairman of its Literary Committee—himself an eloquent and gifted writer—gave a few thoughts concerning Paučo's new book as he remembered reading the installments in the *Jednota*.

"The stories of the Slovak pioneers are very provocative, enlightening and very stimulating. They reveal the joyous faith that the Slovak pioneers had, which in



turn motivated them in their endeavors to better their lives, and help assure a better future for their loved ones, and for Slovaks in general. The realism that FAITH has many faces is beautifully depicted in the lives of the many characters who appear in the *Priekopníci!*

"The lives of these pioneers communicate the personal and devoted consecration to the Slovak motto of living for God and People, to such a degree, that undoubtedly young adults of the second, third, etc., Slovak generation, who perhaps have difficulty of choosing a career, will be aided by the publication of this book to select a career, which will fulfill their vocation for life.

"The 'Slovak Cause' is no longer a hot issue in the average life of an American of Slovak ancestry, in fact, I find a reversing trend. However, if this book can make one cognizant of his Slovak origin, it may serve to help one gain heights which otherwise would be out of bounds, e. g. Michael Novak, and his noted book *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*.

"Paučo's book is one sure way to arousing interest in the Slovak heritage on a personal and individual basis, especially among our younger people. Hopefully, an English translation will be made in the near future, so that devotion to the Slovak ethnicity will be fostered.

"The book should bolster Dr. Joseph Paučo's strong thoughts about the termination and death of the Slovak language in the United States. The book is also a warning to our fair-weather-Slovaks, who claim that they received little if anything from their Slovak ancestors, for it teaches that much Slovak affluence and prestige is di-

rectly the result of the conduct and work of our pioneers.

"It behooves our brethren who are ashamed of their Slovak ethnicity, to study their history, and learn how everything they have was given to them, and that they should give themselves for others as our pioneers did. The ultimate lesson is that we, Americans of Slovak ancestry, should foster and serve the Slovak cause and ideal, at least as much, if not better than our pioneers in early America."

Dr. Joseph Paučo came to the United States 22 years ago. He earned his doctorate in Philosophy at the Slovak University in Bratislava. As a historian and journalist, he has dedicated himself fully to the service of the American Slovaks. He has spent all his time in the United States on the editorial staff of *Jednota*, the Catholic Weekly of the First Catholic Slovak Union. He is also the publisher of the oldest Slovak newspaper in America *Slovák v Amerike* (American Slovak) and is a contributor to many other periodicals. He is the author of over 20 books, mostly dedicated to the life of the American Slovaks, including the history of the First Catholic Slovak Union and the lives of Fr. Stephen Furdek and Fr. Matthew Jankola. His many hundreds of articles, especially the column "Slováci a ich život" (Slovaks and Their Life) in *Jednota*, systematically record the accomplishments and efforts of the American Slovaks and their institutions.

*Slovenskí priekopníci v Amerike* is in itself a pioneer book. Nothing to date has been published in such documentary detail about American Slovak pioneers. The First Catholic Slovak Union is proud to publish this vital literary work of Dr. Joseph Paučo.

Joseph C. Krajša

### JANKOLA'S CENTENNIAL

Jankola centennial Books.—*Pamät-nica 100-ho výročia narodenia Otca Matúša Jankolu (1872-1972)*. — *Jankola Book. Honoring the Centennial of the Birth of Father Matthew Jankola (1872-1972)*

Both of these books were prepared and published by the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius, collaborating at Jankola Library in Danville, Pennsylvania, July-August, 1972, under the chairmanship of Sister M. Martina Tybor.

The historian of the future who undertakes a study of the history of the Slovak people will inevitably reach out for the most objective of resource materials available. And it is just such a balanced, such a level and extraordinary objective and tastefully factual contribution that has appeared this year as an enrichment in the specific field of Slovak-American immigrant chronicles.

The work consists of two distinct volumes, one in English and one in Slovak (similar but not identical in content), delineating the life and the achievements of Father Matthew Jankola, pioneer Slovak-American priest and patriot, who was a leader, educator, writer, and the founder of the American community, Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

This eminently commendable publication project was endorsed and sponsored by Mother M. Valéria Romanchek, Superior General of the congregation, and it became a reality only by reason of the dedication, diligence, and scholarship of the Sisters who were fittingly associated with Jankola Library in this undertaking. Jankola Library is directed by Sister M. Martina Tybor and under her chairmanship there evolved an editorial

committee consisting of Mother M. Emerentia Petrašek, Sister M. Liliána Kardoš, Sister M. Consuela Gregorovič, Sister M. Philomena Abbick, Sister M. Tarcisia Gregorovič and Sister Donna Marie Ivanko.

By their personal effort and professional talent these Sisters worked to contribute every aspect of the publication: the researching and compiling of data, literary composition, technical composing and preparation of copy, multilith reproduction, collating and binding. Susan Oravec of Peckville, Pa. designed the artistic and becoming cover portrait, and photography was done by Joseph McGlinn of Danville and John Greškovič of Olyphant, Pa. The books credit items of information etc. contributed by Sisters M. John Vianney, M. Eileen McCoy, M. Regina, M. Bernardine, M. Raphael, and M. Yolanda.

Each volume consists of 134 pages, is fully protected by copyright and is dedicated to the memory of the esteemed Founder of this American community of sisters whose prime apostolates are teaching and caring for the orphaned and the aged. The sisters thus express the gratitude which is justly due to Father Jankola not only by this community but by all the Slovak people both in this country and abroad, especially for his priestly zeal in promoting spirituality and culture, for his self-sacrifice on behalf of his fellowman, his leadership and vision as well as his determination to better the lot of the Slovak immigrant in America.

The opening pages of each souvenir book contain commemorative poetry of high quality. The text also includes rich and informative articles such as a biography which cover the fruitful work of Father Jankola's lifetime of less than fifty

years, a historical survey of the founding of the community and reminiscences of some who knew Father Jankola well.

Another important contribution in these books is the descriptive account of Jankola Library at Danville, Pa., its holdings, areas of service, prospects, etc.

Of special interest is a picture of Father Jankola's two surviving sisters, Mrs. Irma Jankola Srbová and Mrs. Luisa Jankola Sopková of Slovakia, together with a reproduction of the congratulatory lines which they sent to grace the centennial celebration.

As a special supplement in each book are the news reports and

photographs which record the centennial observance and the Jankola Exhibit of Memorabilia held at Danville on August 13, 1972. The news accounts were prepared by Dr. Joseph Paučo, Slovak journalist and editor, and by Rev. Augustine J. Záh, Chaplain at Maria Joseph Manor.

These unique books creditably record the work of Father Jankola and honor him worthily for the legacy which he bequeathed to the Church, to the Slovak nation and to his adopted country, the USA. Although this is a limited edition, copies are still available at Jankola Library, Danville, Pa. 17821.

*Rev. Augustine J. Záh*

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## Annual S L O V A K I A

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